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A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship

BY WENDELL H. STEPHENSON¹

"Before entering definitely upon my subject I wish to congratulate Vanderbilt University directly, and the Southern people indirectly, upon the establishment and successful career of the society to which I am to speak to-night. I have long held not only that Southern history ought to be more carefully studied and the materials for it gathered together, but that our universities are the proper places of all others for such study and for the gathering of such materials."

In these words William P. Trent, professor of English and history at the University of the South, began an address before the Vanderbilt Southern History Society a half century ago. Enlightened scholar and prescient penman, he observed that Vanderbilt's central location enhanced her opportunity to become a hub of historical activity, alluded to the modern scientific attitude toward history, encouraged avoidance of partisanship and sentimentalism in writing the history of the South, deplored the unliterary character of monographic studies, and pleaded for "a poet's imagination and a philosopher's intuition" in establishing values and relationships. He pointed to the necessity for assembling collections of letters, plantation account books, southern newspapers and periodicals, Indian relics, the writings of southern authors, and the imprints of southern presses. Prophetically, he spoke of publishing monographs "in a magazine of Southern history."²

If Trent had been active in the historical guild a decade ago, he would

¹ This paper was read as the presidential address before the Southern Historical Association at Nashville, Tennessee, November 3, 1944.

² William P. Trent, "The Study of Southern History," in Vanderbilt Southern History Society, *Publications* (Nashville, 1895-1900), I (1895) 1, 5-7, 14-19.

have witnessed the materialization of a cherished desideratum; if he could inventory advancement from the perspective of 1944, his hopefulness of fifty years ago would give place to genuine optimism. The transformation that has been wrought in southern historiography is a significant theme in the development of a New South.

This annual meeting marks the tenth anniversary of the Southern Historical Association and the *Journal of Southern History*. In the decade that has elapsed since a score of historians assembled in Atlanta to found the Association and its magazine, southern historical scholarship has broadened and deepened; historians of the South have become conscious of their unity and strength; accessible annual meetings have promoted professional improvement; new state historical magazines have appeared and old ones have been revived; the assembling of records in archives and libraries has been accelerated; college and university courses in southern history have increased rapidly; research and writing have been stimulated by the publication of a reputable review; and a co-operative history of the region has been projected. In short, historical scholarship has advanced appreciably beyond the frontier of 1934.

It must not be supposed, however, that southern historiography was a voice crying in the wilderness or that a new era dawned abruptly with the founding of the Association and the launching of a scholarly magazine. Pioneers had been laboring for a generation to promote impartial, objective investigation of the South's history. Their efforts were coeval with the development of systematic, scientific procedure so closely related to the origins of the American Historical Association exactly a half century before our own society came into existence. The closing years of the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of a new departure; its application to the history of the South paralleled its influence on the writing of other American history. A new approach and a new method became the order of the day regardless of period or section.

From the vantage point of the 1940's, it is clear that southern historical scholarship received its initial impetus at the Johns Hopkins University under the leadership of that aggressive scholar, Herbert B.

Adams. His interest in the South was incidental to his major emphasis, institutional history; but he published some significant monographs in that field, notably the *College of William and Mary* (1887) and *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (1888); trained a score or more of young Southerners in historical methodology; provided a medium of publication through the establishment of the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*; and exerted a wholesome and constructive influence upon an incipient scholarship in the southern region. Courses in the history of the South were first offered at the Hopkins in the 1890's, and in the same decade a beginning was made in assembling a southern collection in the University library. Adams' reputation for objectivity, a conviction that Baltimore was a southern city, and special scholarships available to residents of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were factors that attracted competent graduates of southern colleges to the Hopkins for advanced work.

There was nothing in Adams' nativity or education to foretell a debt of gratitude the South eventually owed him. A native of Massachusetts, he grew up in an atmosphere of Puritanism, attended Phillips Exeter Academy and Amherst College, and took the doctorate at Heidelberg University in 1876. Scientifically trained in politics, history, philosophy, and literature by the able German scholars, Heinrich von Treitschke, Johann C. Bluntschli, Wilhelm Ihne, and Kuno Fischer, he returned to the United States to accept a post-doctoral fellowship at the new Johns Hopkins University. For the next quarter century he occupied a pivotal position in the development of historical scholarship in the United States. "If I were to sum up my impression of Dr. Adams," Woodrow Wilson recalled, "I should call him a great Captain of Industry, a captain in the field of systematic and organized scholarship." Neither a profound lecturer nor a brilliant writer, Adams discovered "talent where others did not see it," inspired students with enthusiasm for the study and writing of history and politics, and stressed "more fields to be cultivated and more reputations to be made."³

³ John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams: A Biographical Sketch," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends, with a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics and Eco-*

The nucleus of the Adams system was the "Seminary in History and Politics," embracing four or five teachers and twenty-five to fifty graduate students. Physical surroundings were conducive to an atmosphere of scholarship: tables were covered with historical, political, and economic journals; cases contained books and manuscripts of Bluntschli, Edouard Laboulaye, and Francis Lieber; cases and walls were lined with busts and pictures of statesmen and historians; and a special shelf was reserved for publications of former students.⁴

As graduate students from the South increased, a southern history room was provided to house a collection of materials on the history and literature of the region. The year 1891 witnessed the acquisition of two invaluable collections. Books and pamphlets relating to slavery, assembled by James G. Birney and his son, General William Birney, were presented to the University. Probably as a result of the Birney donation, Colonel J. Thomas Scharf of Baltimore gave to the Hopkins library his collection of pamphlets, manuscripts, autographs, and books. "I have long noted with regret," the donor wrote, "how imperfectly the history, general and local, of the Southern States has been written, and the fact that this imperfection has been largely due to the absence or inaccessibility of material. . . . It is my hope that the Johns Hopkins University, founded by a Southern man in a Southern city, may see the way to do for the South what the Northern Universities have done for the North."⁵ Unfortunately, the original zeal for building up a great

nomics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901 (Baltimore, 1902), 9-23; Richard T. Ely, "A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," *ibid.*, 27-49; John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in Howard W. Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), 97-127, a rewriting of Vincent's earlier sketch; John S. Bassett, "Herbert Baxter Adams," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), I, 69-71.

⁴ See "The Historical Library," in *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97* (Baltimore, 1897), 104-108; *Eighth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1883* (Baltimore, 1883), 50; and the *Annual Report* for each year from 1883 to 1900.

⁵ "Historical Library," *loc. cit.*, 104-108; William Birney to Herbert B. Adams, January 12, 14, May 8, 1891, in Herbert B. Adams Correspondence, Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland; James C. Ballagh, "The Johns Hopkins University and the South," in *New York Evangelist*, March 29, 1900, reprinted in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore), XX, No. 149 (January, 1901), 23. In slightly modified form, Ballagh's article appeared in *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the*

collection at the Hopkins did not long endure, and after the lapse of a decade or two, other southern universities continued this pioneering work so auspiciously begun in Baltimore.

Special lectures on topics in the history of the South were both cause and result of expanding interest in that field. In the last decade of the century, Adams invited J. Franklin Jameson to lecture on the political and constitutional history of the southern states, David F. Houston on the nullification movement, and John S. Bassett on the Negro.⁶ In 1896 James C. Ballagh, instructor in the department, inaugurated a course in southern history. Lectures, based upon original research, discussed land and labor, the tariff, internal improvements, westward expansion, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Students were sent to the sources for research on topics in Virginia, Carolina, and Alabama history.⁷ Here again, a policy that contributed to the development of southern historical scholarship was ultimately abandoned at the Hopkins, but other schools carried it forward. By 1913 six colleges and universities were offering courses in the history of the South; the number had increased to thirty or forty by the 1920's, and to nearly a hundred by 1940.

One other aspect of the Hopkins influence on the South remains for discussion. With few exceptions, Adams-trained men were productive scholars. Quantitatively, their record of achievement was exceptional. By 1901 southern Hopkins men, students and faculty, had published over seven hundred books, monographs, and articles, 42 per cent of which dealt with the South; and men from other sections had produced an additional fifty-one articles. Some of the monographs were

Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901 (Baltimore, 1901), 31-32. See also, William K. Boyd, "Southern History in American Universities," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902-), I (1902), 240.

⁶ *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1891* (Baltimore, 1891), 10, 60; *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901*, p. 81; John S. Bassett to Adams, June 21, October 23, November 14, December 15, 1899; April 1, November 2, 1900, in Adams Correspondence; *id.* to John M. Vincent, February 5, 1900; January 15, 1901, *ibid.*

⁷ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901*, p. 83; *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1902* (Baltimore, 1902), 58.

printed in the University *Studies*, with the number on the South during the preceding six years equaling the total for the first twelve. "Such a record is one to be honored in any field of research," a Dunning student wrote, "especially in one so important and long neglected."⁸ Qualitatively, many of the early numbers seem more like unpublishable term reports than serious contributions to knowledge. It is questionable whether some of the doctoral dissertations published in the *Studies* in Adams' day would now be acceptable as masters' theses.

If one were to call the roll of Southerners trained in history, economics, and politics at the Hopkins, the sheer weight of names would reveal the University's influence on the southern region. Most of them found academic or editorial positions in the South, and some attained enviable reputations as teachers of local or southern history, as founders of historical societies, and as productive scholars in the southern field. The careers of a few indicate how the spirit and atmosphere of the Hopkins were carried to southern colleges and universities.

The varied activities of Bassett at Trinity College yielded tangible results.⁹ He became at once a productive scholar; he assembled books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts in the Trinity College Library; and he founded the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* and the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Bassett's letters to his mentor,¹⁰ unlike those of other Hopkins men, reveal a dynamic interest in cultural, political, and social problems of his state and the southern region. His professional zeal was not limited to history, for he also sought to promote literary criticism and academic freedom.

⁸ See the bibliographical portion of *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends, with a Bibliography of the Department*, 1-160; Boyd, "Southern History in American Universities," *loc. cit.*, 241.

⁹ Trinity College was a Hopkins "colony" before Bassett's appointment to the faculty. Stephen B. Weeks received the doctorate at Johns Hopkins in 1891, taught at Trinity for the next two years, and inaugurated some of the historical activities which Bassett continued. As a North Carolina historian and bibliographer and as editor and researcher for the United States Bureau of Education, Weeks made significant contributions to southern historiography.

¹⁰ Some of these have been published in W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938); others are in Adams Correspondence. For a brief sketch of Bassett, see William K. Boyd, "John Spencer Bassett," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 38-39.

Then, as now, institutions of higher learning expected professors to teach, and Trinity College was no exception to the rule. Bassett offered a wide variety of courses, some of them far afield from history. In 1897 he introduced two courses in North Carolina history, one for seniors and one for graduates, but both demanded research in original materials. Two years later he offered the "Secession Movement in America," designed to examine ante-bellum and postwar political life and to study impartially the military history of the War for Southern Independence. Not until 1907, after William K. Boyd succeeded Bassett, was a course in "Southern History" offered by the department, but it was in no sense a survey of the subject as it is conceived today.¹¹

Through the medium of the Trinity College Historical Society, Bassett assembled materials on North Carolina and the South and promoted the writing of southern history. "I am trying to put a new spirit into the historical work of the South," he wrote Adams after addressing the Society in 1897.¹² The trained historian must replace the Confederate brigadier; memoirs and anecdotes and "flimsy evidences" must give way to "history systematically and comprehensively" written. But scientifically-trained historians could not record and interpret the South's past without source materials. To particularize, they needed account books, diaries, letters, minutes of assemblies, newspaper files, pamphlets, and historical objects. Original materials would profit little, however, as long as "devotion to truth" were lacking. Accuracy demanded that evidence on both sides of controversial issues be admitted, but when any Southerner dared to depart from the traditional view, "he has been denounced as a traitor and a mercenary defiler of his birth-place." The Society could revolutionize the writing of history in the South. "Let us conduct ourselves," Bassett urged, "that the world may know that there is in the South at least one spot in which our history may be presented in all its claims, and where it may receive a

¹¹ Trinity College *Catalogue for the Year 1896-'97* (Durham, 1897), 50, 63; 1897-'98 (Durham, 1898), 53; 1899-1900 (Durham, 1900), 61; 1906-1907 (Durham, 1907), 73.

¹² Bassett to Adams, September 26, 1897, in Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 246.

respectful and unimpassioned hearing."¹³ It is doubtful if the scientific concept of history, the need for trained historians, and the obligation to preserve historical materials were better stated in the closing years of last century than by the thirty-year-old Bassett. The conservatism of southern society at the turn of the century made his liberal and provocative preachments little less than revolutionary.

It was Bassett's ambition to provide a medium of publication for the Trinity College Historical Society. His dream materialized in 1897 with the launching of the *Historical Papers*; but, useful as this publication was, it did not serve every purpose that he had in mind. He was tremendously interested in the race question as a social problem; he was dissatisfied with the political situation in North Carolina; and he desired to promote toleration and critical, independent thinking. In the past, southern provincialism had fostered antiquated subject matter and "destroyed that literary atmosphere which writers find essential to creative work"; shallow learning in southern colleges and universities could not provide "the culture which must underlie literary production."¹⁴ To stimulate and vitalize literary and historical activity, the *South Atlantic Quarterly* was founded in 1902. It was not primarily a magazine of southern history, though there were articles on the South by the editor and by Ballagh, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Holland Thompson—a galaxy of young Southerners who soon attained recognition as chroniclers of the South's history.

Bassett's war on politicians and churchmen, prejudice and provincialism, eventually aroused a storm of protest. His article on "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy"¹⁵ raised a clamor for his dismissal, but his resignation was declined. He retired as editor of the *Quarterly* in 1905 "because of an accumulation of other labors," and a year later accepted a call to Smith College. For twelve years he had toiled in

¹³ The speech, originally published in the *Trinity Archive*, January, 1898, pp. 177-87, is quoted in Nannie M. Tilley, *The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941* (Durham, 1941), 51-59.

¹⁴ John S. Bassett, "The Problems of the Author in the South," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 203.

¹⁵ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 297-305.

the South to plant the seeds of historical scholarship. The academic hospitality of New England did not lessen his interest in the homeland. Years later he could write in the preface of his *Southern Plantation Overseer*, "After residing nearly two decades in New England, always a hospitable home for a student, he has found a special joy in getting back into the history of Southern conditions."¹⁶

With the publication of *The Federalist System* in 1906, Bassett attained national recognition; theretofore he had exploited his own state's history.¹⁷ In concentrating upon local materials in his formative years, he was following sound principle; but perhaps a major factor in determining his interest was the publication of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (1886-1890). Nearly 80 per cent of the citations in his *Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina* (1894) were to that monumental work; *The Regulators of North Carolina* (1895), the best of his North Carolina monographs, depended upon it in equal amount; and more than half of the material in his *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (1896) was drawn from it. In both colonial and state studies, North Carolina laws, codes, and court reports were used to good advantage. Newspapers were employed on occasion, particularly in *Anti-Slavery Leaders in North Carolina* (1898) and in *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (1899). There is a sprinkling of manuscript citations, mainly to unpublished laws and records of religious groups.

Judged by present standards, Bassett's studies, like those of most of his contemporaries, were based upon meager sources. As a result, many of them were narrowly conceived, embracing a monotonous recital of constitutional and legal provisions. In his slavery monographs, tobacco production and plantations are alluded to in the most general terms; rice is mentioned incidentally. A section on social life in one of them has little to do with that subject. Not until Phillips began to exploit agricultural periodicals and plantation diaries, jour-

¹⁶ John S. Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer As Revealed in His Letters* (Northampton, Mass., 1925), iv.

¹⁷ The notable exception was John S. Bassett (ed.), *The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esq"* (New York, 1901).

nals, and account books a decade later did studies of the subject acquire a social and economic flavor. Bassett himself, in later years, used journals and letters with pregnant effect.

As would be expected of a disciple of the new scientific group of historians, Bassett assembled facts on both sides of controversial questions, weighed the evidence carefully, and exercised a degree of detachment. After doing so, he did not hesitate to state his conclusions boldly. Whether writing letters to Adams or historical monographs, he did not avoid a frank expression of his sympathies on issues past and present. They lay with the Regulators, with slaves, and with free Negroes.

From Bassett and Trinity College the scene shifts to the transmontane University of the South where another pioneer in southern history, William P. Trent, labored for the last thirteen years of the nineteenth century. Like Bassett, he was a graduate student at the Hopkins, and like most students who passed through Adams' seminar, he was inspired to engage in productive work. Before leaving Sewanee in 1900 for a professorship at Columbia University, he had published *English Culture in Virginia* (1889), *William Gilmore Simms* (1892), *Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime* (1897), and *Robert E. Lee* (1899). He had also written a number of articles on historical subjects, some of which possessed substantial merit. As founder and editor of the *Sewanee Review*, he antedated Bassett by a decade in promoting unbiased thinking and literary activity through the medium of a quarterly magazine. He was a southern liberal, unbound by traditional concepts, and willing to pioneer despite criticism of conservatives. He paid his respects to the narrow, intolerant, and provincial atmosphere at Sewanee; as for the South, "Shallow thinking on political matters, provincialism of taste & sentiments—ignorance & vanity are the dominant characteristics of our people." After teaching a decade at the University of the South, he concluded that it would take a generation to set Southerners aright.¹⁸

Trent's first significant work was a biography of Simms. Handi-

¹⁸ William P. Trent to Adams, January 8, 1898, in Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 250.

capped by a heavy teaching load and by lack of material in his "mountain fastness," research materialized slowly. While it cannot be said that he exhausted all the sources, he examined a great mass of printed and manuscript materials, traveling to Charleston, Richmond, Washington, and Baltimore to assemble notes and interview relatives and friends of his subject. He searched magazines of Simms' generation, he read "dreary" American novels of the ante-bellum period, and he studied the southern background. To meet the publisher's deadline, he composed the first draft of 850 manuscript pages in seven weeks while teaching fifteen hours work; a revision which deleted 150 pages consumed a fortnight. This accelerated program left him "nearly dead," and he reflected over his experience "with a kind of shuddering wonder."¹⁹

The Simms study was published a half century ago, but it has not yet been superseded. Evaluating it on the basis of standards of that day, it was a superior work whether judged as biography, history, or literature. Trent's appraisal of Simms' creative and editorial work is critical and fairly trustworthy, but his general theory of literary development and his treatment of politics in the old South met vitriolic condemnation from southern reviewers. Anticipating criticism, he nevertheless studied thoroughly the environment in which literature was produced in the Old South. Slavery, according to Trent, was not only responsible for the "Lost Cause"; creative writing could not flourish in such an environment, and the low estate of contributions to the *Southern Literary Messenger* and the *Southern Quarterly Review* was traceable directly to the South's peculiar institution.²⁰ Trent and other critical, liberal Southerners of the period exaggerated the evil influences of slavery. Dissatisfied with the uncritical writing of the past, they sought an objective approach to the study of southern history and literature. In their zeal for the new order, some of them went too far in repudiating institu-

¹⁹ *Id.* to Charles D. Warner, June 11, 1892, quoted in Franklin T. Walker, "William Peterfield Trent—A Critical Biography" (Ph. D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1943), 135.

²⁰ *Id.* to Adams, June 9, September 30, November 14, 1890; March 5, April 17, 1891, in Adams Correspondence; William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892), vi-vii, 37-41, 50-51, 56, 104-105, 286-87, *passim*.

tions of the Old South and in condemning the philosophy of their ante-bellum ancestors. Unlike Bassett, whose literary interests were always secondary to his historical efforts, Trent was making the transition from historian to litterateur in the 1890's. In doing so, he became less objective and more imaginative. Never again did he delve into the sources with that thoroughness that characterized his biography of Simms. He was satisfied thereafter to write history mainly from secondary accounts, supplemented by casual examination of limited source materials.

In 1896 Trent was invited to deliver at the University of Wisconsin a series of lectures on prominent ante-bellum Southerners. It was his purpose to depict the old régime through some of the able men of the middle period. His appraisal of George Washington was uncritical—almost eulogistic. In treating Thomas Jefferson's career he regained his historical composure and discovered some very human weaknesses as well as many praiseworthy qualities. John Randolph provided plenty of opportunity to exercise critical ingenuity; he was downright angry with John C. Calhoun. Inclusion of Alexander H. Stephens and Robert Toombs gave occasion to observe that "the Georgian is the Southerner who comes nearest of all the inhabitants of his section to being a normal American." Jefferson Davis was not "a thoroughly great man," though Trent credited him with ability, versatility, gallantry as a soldier, "pure intentions," and gentlemanly qualities. He was a statesman who failed "not so much through his lack of ability to govern, as through the inherent weakness of the cause he represented." Here again, Trent was blaming Southerners' ills upon slavery. The institution was responsible for poor roads, oldfield schools, paucity of cities, and lack of immigrants. Slavery "stamped its evil mark on everything . . . [the Southerner] wrote or said or did." Most of these charges laid at slavery's door were either overstated or entirely wrong, but the soundness of the following statement, which might easily be attributed to a scholar of the 1940's will not be questioned. "The more fiercely the abolitionist leaders inveighed against slavery the more vehemently the pro-slavery advocates asserted their own virtue and the baseness of their enemies.

The Northerner began to think all Southerners slave-drivers; the Southerner began to think all Northerners either fanatics or cowardly shop-keepers."²¹ In his *Robert E. Lee*, Trent emphasized the "logic of passion" as a determinant,²² though he did not speak of "symbols."

Two factors prompted Trent in establishing the *Sewanee Review*: the zeal of Hopkins students to publish and to promote media of publication, and his study of ante-bellum southern magazines which indicated a present need for a critical quarterly in the South. The *Review* emphasized literature and literary criticism more than the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, but it also devoted attention to education, philosophy, theology, fine arts, contemporary questions, biography, and history. With such contributors as Bassett, Phillips, Fleming, Hamilton, David D. Wallace, Colyer Meriwether, St. George L. Sioussat, Philip A. Bruce, and Thomas J. Wertenbaker, some authentic southern history found its way into the *Sewanee Review*.

More than a decade before the end of last century, George Petrie began his labors at Alabama Polytechnic Institute that were to continue beyond a half century. Trained in the Adams seminar at the Hopkins, he wrote a dissertation on *Church and State in Early Maryland* (1892), and returned to Auburn to teach history and Latin. His philosophy and methodology are worth transcribing. "In this department," he wrote, "the aim is not so much to memorize facts as to understand them. . . . The students are taught to investigate the growth of ideas and institutions, the rise and progress of great historical movements, and the reciprocal influences of men and circumstances. Frequent use is made of diagrams, photographs, charts and maps. . . . Instruction is given by textbooks, lectures and class discussion, but a constant effort is made to stimulate to wider reading and research in the library."²³

There is tangible evidence that Petrie was successful in his efforts to

²¹ William P. Trent, *Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime* (Boston, 1897), *passim*, 181, 199, 261-62.

²² William P. Trent, *Robert E. Lee* (Boston, 1899), 32-34.

²³ *Catalogue of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College; Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1892-93* (Montgomery, 1893), 64. A similar statement had appeared in the catalogue as early as the issue of 1887-'88 (Auburn, n. d.), 45; the quotation remained in the catalogue until 1920.

inspire students to "wider reading and research." As an example, Fleming had read more than one hundred and fifty volumes of history and biography before leaving Auburn in 1900. These treated many countries and all periods; thirty-seven of them dealt with the South and southern leaders. He had also produced a meritorious paper on Buford's expedition to Kansas. Fleming was, as Petrie put it, "one of our crack men."²⁴

The word *seminar* had little to recommend it at an agricultural and mechanical college, so all work in history for juniors, seniors, and graduates was "conducted by the laboratory method" to elevate the subject to the level of a science in a school that emphasized technology. "Emphasis is laid," Petrie said, "on the importance of securing proper material for investigation and every incentive is given to the collection and use of new documents, papers and letters illustrative of Southern, and especially Alabama history." In the freshman program, the study of Alabama history was placed on a parity with United States and English history. A junior-senior course in American history included lectures on such Southerners as John Randolph, William L. Yancey, Stephens, Toombs, and Davis.²⁵

Petrie published a few studies and devoted years to the assembling of material for a biography of Yancey, but his great contribution lay in inspiring young men with a genuine love for the history of the South. Such were Fleming, Albert B. Moore, Frank L. Owsley, Herman C. Nixon, William O. Scroggs, Dallas T. Herndon, Alfred W. Reynolds, Watson Davis, John B. Clark, Charles S. Davis, and a dozen others whose accomplishments have been creditable.²⁶

The historical renaissance that appeared in Mississippi in the 1890's was inseparably associated with the pioneering activities of Franklin L. Riley.²⁷ Graduating from the Hopkins in 1896, he served a year as

²⁴ George Petrie to Adams, April 21, 1900, in Adams Correspondence. An enclosure listed the books Fleming had read.

²⁵ *Catalogue of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute . . . 1900* (Montgomery, 1900), 67; 1901 (Montgomery, 1901), 77.

²⁶ Alfred W. Reynolds, "Auburn Historians (1896-1941)," in *Auburn Forum* (Auburn, 1940-), II (1941), No. 7, pp. 9-10, [21].

²⁷ The Adams Correspondence contains several letters from Franklin L. Riley, the

president of Hillman College, and then accepted a call to the new chair of history and rhetoric at the University of Mississippi. As was to be expected, Riley brought with him a zeal for scholarly productivity, a penchant for organized historical activity, and a determination to inaugurate a medium of publication. In addition to his dissertation, he had already published a half dozen articles, one of them on the "Study of History in Southern Colleges." He was the moving spirit behind the revival of the Mississippi Historical Society in 1898 and the launching of its *Publications* which he edited until 1914. He also edited the volume, *A Political History of the South* (1909), in *The South in the Building of the Nation*. To these two publications, and others, he contributed sundry monographs.

After a triennium at the University, rhetoric was removed from Riley's department, and thereafter his teaching was concentrated in the field of history. In 1908 he inaugurated a course on the political history of the South, one of the earliest in that field. Meanwhile, in 1898, the University Historical Society was organized to promote research, with a room in the library to house its archives, embracing manuscripts, newspaper files, and museum pieces. The Society met monthly to hear papers on the history of the state. A seminar replaced it in 1906, and members prepared studies on the Reconstruction period of sundry Mississippi counties, a few of which were printed in the Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*.²⁸

At the turn of the century young William K. Boyd faced a perplexing problem. He had taken the bachelor's and master's degrees at Trinity College under Bassett's tutelage, and had acquired teaching experience as assistant in history at Trinity and as master in history at Trinity Park High School. One thing he yet lacked—the doctorate. With few exceptions young Southerners of that era had two choices if interested

most significant of which have been published in Charles S. Sydnor (ed.), "Letters from Franklin L. Riley to Herbert B. Adams, 1894-1901," in *Journal of Mississippi History* (Jackson, 1939-), II (1940), 100-110. A larger assemblage of Riley letters is available in the Thomas M. Owen Correspondence, Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

²⁸*Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi, 1849-1909* (Nashville, 1910), 53-57; Sydnor (ed), "Letters from Franklin L. Riley to Herbert B. Adams," *loc. cit.*, 105.

in the history of their region. They could cast their lot with Johns Hopkins where the maestro, Herbert B. Adams, had been attracting southern men for a decade or so; or they could cross Mason and Dixon's Line to study with the magister at Columbia University, William A. Dunning, whose reputation as an impartial authority on the Civil War and Reconstruction periods was well established. Boyd's decision was not an easy one. His mentor at Trinity College urged the Hopkins; in fact, Bassett wrote Adams several times extolling his protégé's virtues and appraising his study of Governor William W. Holden as "the best thing ever done in N. C. Reconstruction times." But, he added, "Dunning is so pleased with it that inducements are held out to him to go to Columbia." The "inducements" were apparently sufficient, for Boyd chose Columbia, but with mental reservations as to the correctness of his decision. Finding "a lack of personal touch" there, he thought of transferring to the Hopkins the following year if an able successor to Adams were appointed.²⁹ He continued at Columbia.

Adams and Dunning left such an impress upon their students that bonds of personal friendship and intellectual interest promoted a recognizable unity. Adams founded the Hopkins "colonial system," for each institution in which a Hopkins man was placed became a colony of the parent university. Dunning's students esteemed their "'Old Chief,' whose shining personality, keen intellect, warm personal interest, and painstaking guidance placed them under obligations too great ever to be fully discharged, and bound them to him by ties of warm affection."³⁰ What was the background of the man whose magnetic qualities at-

²⁹ Bassett to Adams, January 24, 1898; May 27, June 17, 1900; April 21, 1901, in Adams Correspondence; *id.* to *id.*, April 3, 1899, in Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 269-70; William K. Boyd to Bassett, n. d., but probably early fall, 1900; November 27, 1900; April 7, 18, 28, 1901, in John S. Bassett Correspondence, in possession of Mrs. Bassett, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Boyd serves here as an appropriate transition; an appraisal of his work is reserved for a later study. Pertinent data are available in Bassett Correspondence; and in William K. Boyd Memoir and William K. Boyd Correspondence, in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. See, also, *In Memoriam: William Kenneth Boyd, January 10, 1879-January 19, 1938* (Durham, 1938); Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society*, *passim*.

³⁰ J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton (ed.), *Truth in History and Other Essays by William A. Dunning* (New York, 1937), xi.

tracted to Columbia such southern scholars as Boyd, Fleming, Phillips, Hamilton, Milledge L. Bonham, James W. Garner, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Charles W. Ramsdell, Thomas S. Staples, David Y. Thomas, and C. Mildred Thompson?

It is impossible to find in Dunning's geographical and intellectual heritage factors that foreshadowed an important role in advancing southern historical scholarship.³¹ Born in New Jersey four years before the Civil War began, his formal education was eastern, except for study at the University of Berlin with Treitschke. A freshman-sophomore altercation led to suspension from Dartmouth and removal to Columbia where he took the bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees, the last in 1885. His dissertation, *The Constitution of the United States in Civil War and Reconstruction, 1860-1867* (1885), revealed independence of thought and maturity in judgment; his *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1898) demonstrated historical detachment in the treatment of controversial problems. Invited to contribute the volume on postwar years to the *American Nation* Series, he published in 1907 *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877*, a judicious analysis of a period that witnessed a pronounced transformation in American life. A pioneer in scientific research, a precisionist in literary craftsmanship, and a genius in the art of teaching, Dunning exerted tremendous influence on southern students who enrolled in his courses on Civil War and Reconstruction.

In appraising the Reconstruction monographs of Dunning's students, it should be noted that they were based upon a wide assortment of sources, many of them used for the first time. Never before had so great a bulk of material been sifted and woven into the fabric of Reconstruction history of the southern commonwealths. The assembling of

³¹ For "a picture of the master," see *ibid.*, xi-xxviii; for sketches, Charles E. Merriam, "William Archibald Dunning," in Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science*, 129-45; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "William Archibald Dunning," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 523-24; *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XXVIII (1922-1923), 174. It is a factor of some significance that Dunning's father, a carriage maker with artistic and classical tendencies, inspired an interest in Reconstruction problems. See dedicatory page, in William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (New York, 1907).

pertinent data is a permanent legacy. In the arrangement and interpretation of data, they made an honest effort to divest their minds of sectional bias, and to understand the interrelationships of conservative whites, southern unionists, northern immigrants, and freedmen. A sympathetic inclination toward the first group appeared as they marshalled evidence to show the ill effects of a radical program on southern society and economy. Sympathies in this direction were not entirely counterbalanced by parading praiseworthy qualities in representatives of other groups. Their approach represented a new departure, for much of the history of the period had been observed through the spectacles of Radicals, with little understanding of Conservative reaction to emancipation, the Lost Cause, and the Congressional policy applied to the South. If the historical pendulum swung too far to the right in the hands of Dunning revisionists, the new statement was certainly nearer gravitational equilibrium than it had been before.

The first significant monograph on state Reconstruction that emanated from Dunning's seminar was Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (1901). He declared that animosities and passions aroused during the period had been sufficiently dissipated to permit an unprejudiced study, but that the history of the era "ought to be written by a Southerner, for it is the Southerners who best understand the problems which the reconstructionists undertook to solve and the conditions under which the solution was worked out." He hastened to explain that this did not mean a presentation "from the Southern 'point of view' or from any other 'point of view.'" It was the historian's function, he thought, "to *relate* and not to *judge*," and he therefore "left the reader to form his own conclusions."³² While the emphasis was on political, legal, and constitutional history, he devoted chapters to economic aspects, to education, and to the functions of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Studies by Hamilton, Ramsdell, Davis, Staples, and Edwin C. Woolley³³ likewise stressed political and constitutional themes; but Fleming

³² James W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), vii-viii.

³³ Edwin C. Woolley, *The Reconstruction of Georgia* (New York, 1901); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1906); Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York, 1910); William W. Davis, *The Civil War*

and Miss Thompson³⁴ elected to go beyond these standard aspects of history. Writing forty years ago when social and economic history received meager attention, Fleming devoted 40 per cent of his *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905) to social, industrial, educational, and religious history. It was an innovation to include such subjects as farm life during the war, clothes and fashions, makeshifts and substitutes, and drugs and medicines. Miss Thompson, in her *Reconstruction in Georgia* (1915), carried the same emphasis further, devoting fully two-thirds of her book to society, labor, agriculture, industry, banking, transportation, education, and religion.

While all of these monographs stressed Reconstruction in the South, there was a constant awareness of the states' relationship to the national picture, though it was subordinated to the local scene. As Ramsdell put it, he had kept "the national point of view . . . in a corner of his mind," and had "often found it a valuable corrective."³⁵ Students were thus reversing Dunning's emphasis; he viewed "the period as a step in the progress of the American nation" and underscored the record "of the victorious section."³⁶ Into the national design he fitted the southern problem, drawing upon the researches of Garner, Fleming, and Hamilton for his *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*. One cannot escape the conclusion that the master had confidence in the neophyte, and thus that influence operated in two directions. It was a wholesome, constructive relationship.

Some of the weaknesses of the Reconstruction monographs may be accounted for by the fact that they are doctoral dissertations, the first extensive pieces of research engaged in by the writers. If some of them are narrowly conceived and limited in scope, they are not unlike most monographic studies, then or now, in this premise. One could hardly

and Reconstruction in Florida (New York, 1913); Thomas S. Staples, *Reconstruction in Arkansas, 1862-1874* (New York, 1923). Hamilton's dissertation traced Reconstruction in North Carolina through 1868; he continued working on the subject and published at New York in 1914 a much longer volume on the whole period.

³⁴ Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905); C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872* (New York, 1915).

³⁵ Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 7.

³⁶ Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, xv.

expect that graduate students would say the final word on a controversial period. That some lacked definitiveness does not seriously reflect on the authors; as doctoral dissertations they possess much merit whether judged by standards prevalent in the first and second decades of the twentieth century, or in the third and fourth. They represent a distinct advancement in historical scholarship, and anyone essaying to do the task again must necessarily utilize them as a point of departure. Admittedly there are gaps to be filled, especially in social and economic themes; refinements in judgment are in order; a reconsideration of the Negro's place in the economic and social picture is necessary; and a measure of credit is yet to be assigned to the Radical régimes for constructive provisions they placed in constitutional and legislative enactments.³⁷ A careful reading of the Dunning studies will reveal that many of these things are sensed if not completely understood.³⁸

The Reconstruction dissertations prepared at Columbia after 1900 are superior to theses written on southern subjects under Adams' direction. For the most part, they were more ambitious pieces of work, and they utilized a wider variety and a greater mass of source materials. Adams and his students had charted a course; one would normally expect improvement in those who followed. It is doubtful if members of the Dunning group surpassed Adams' students in the application of cold objectivity to research and writing.

Adams and Dunning were not historians of the South. They were eastern men, educated in the East and in Germany. The excellence of the graduate schools with which they were associated, together with their own reputations for impartiality, attracted students from the South to their seminars; these in turn wrote dissertations on southern topics,

³⁷ The status of Reconstruction writing is, treated in Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," in *American Historical Review*, XLV (1939-1940), 807-27. For an interesting round-table discussion of Reconstruction, see Albert B. Moore, "The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), VII (1941), 66-68.

³⁸ One is surprised to find, for example, that Garner discovered "a feeling of genuine admiration . . . for the Northern teacher" in Mississippi, and concluded that, when the Radicals relinquished control of government, "the public school system which they had fathered had become firmly established, its efficiency increased, and its administration made somewhat less expensive than at first." Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 359-70.

and many of them returned to southern colleges and universities to teach and write the history of their section, to establish historical societies, and to build up collections of southern material. The contribution of the two pioneers was indirect, but it was nonetheless significant in the origins of southern historical scholarship.

The turn of the century ushered into the historical guild two young Southerners—Dodd and Phillips—who were destined to play important roles in promoting scholarly treatment of their region's history. Their dominating influence during the next generation brought the South well on the road to historical maturity. Their careers present interesting parallels, but in many respects their methods and interests stood in sharp contrast. Both received their bachelor's and master's degrees at southern institutions; both taught in southern schools before receiving calls to professorships in northern universities; both made their major contributions to the ante-bellum period of southern history; both projected a multiple-volume history of the South; both died before completing it. Dodd, like Adams, took his doctorate at a German university; Phillips, like Dunning, received his degree at Columbia. Dodd held primacy as a writer of biography, especially interpretative portraiture; Phillips preferred social and economic history, particularly plantation economy. Dodd was given to generalization, to painting composites; Phillips particularized, hesitated to state conclusions. Dodd excelled as a stimulating lecturer; Phillips was at his best in the seminar room. Dodd's writings brought political preferment and a sojourn in Nazi Germany; Phillips' productive work won for him an Albert Kahn Fellowship and a trip to darkest Africa.

Innumerable conditioning factors united in the development of Phillips as the historian of the South, among them his Georgia background, the opportunity to study with Dunning, and intimate contact with Frederick J. Turner.³⁹ His native state provided the subject and

³⁹ For biographical and bibliographical data, see *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (1933-1934), 598-99; Fred Landon, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: Historian of the South," in *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 364-71; Wood Gray, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips," in William T. Hutchinson (ed.), *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* . . . (Chicago, 1937), 354-73; Fred Landon and Everett E. Edwards, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Ulrich Bonnell Phillips," in *Agricultural His-*

much of the material for his dissertation, *Georgia and State Rights* (1902), an ante-bellum political history with emphasis on Federal relations. From Dunning he learned much of historical method and meticulous writing, but it was Turner who supplied the approach and the key to the problem. Called to an instructorship at Wisconsin following the awarding of the doctorate, he had further opportunity for association with Turner. Whether at Wisconsin, Tulane, Michigan, or Yale, Phillips offered instruction in southern history—usually a lecture course on the ante-bellum South, designed for upperclassmen and graduates, and a seminar for graduate students.

Perhaps Phillips' most enduring contribution was the exploitation of new sources. He was not the first southern historian to realize the value of plantation records, but his priority in utilizing them effectively will not be denied. They were a primary source for many of his contributions to historical magazines, he drew upon them heavily in writing *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929), and he assembled pertinent illustrative material in *Plantation and Frontier* (1910) and in *Florida Plantation Records* (1927). Having demonstrated their utility as a source, a younger generation of historians explored an ever-widening mass of plantation data to fill in details of a picture for which Phillips had provided an authentic mosaic.

Occasionally Phillips turned his hand to political subjects, as in his essays on the South Carolina Federalists and the southern Whigs, his biography of Robert Toombs, and the correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb. His greatest achievement in this field was a series of lectures delivered at Northwestern University in 1932 and published posthumously as *The Course of the South to Secession* (1939). The essays in this fragment, designed as part of a companion volume to his *Life and Labor in the Old South*, reveal ability in analyzing and inter-

tory (Chicago, Baltimore, 1927-), VIII (1934), 196-218; David M. Potter, Jr. (comp.), "A Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Ulrich Bonnell Phillips," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Savannah, 1917-), XVIII (1934), 270-82. Philip C. Newman, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips—The South's Foremost Historian," *ibid.*, XXV (1941), 244-61, possesses little if any merit. Transcripts of the Ulrich B. Phillips Papers are in possession of the writer.

preting political trends and movements that led to a stroke for independence. Stylistically and organically they are as unorthodox as his other later works, but in this unorthodoxy lay the originality that made his writing dynamic and virile.

In method, Phillips preferred particularization to generalization; the more research he did, he often commented, the less willing he was to generalize. He wrote of planters and their plantations with specific identification. The names of individual overseers and slaves easily found lodgment in his writings. He permitted himself few composites, though those he did employ are estimable. For the most part he was content to narrate and analyze, arranging illustrative material so cogently that the reader could hardly mistake an implied conclusion.

Phillips' great work, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, disappointed many scholars who expected a synthesis of southern history. His dominant interest remained unchanged—the economic and social history of the ante-bellum plantation régime. Manufacturing, lumbering, mining, education, urban life, the common man—received scant attention or were completely ignored. His emphasis was by design, not because he depreciated other themes. Phillips encouraged his seminar students to investigate topics of their own choosing, even though they were far afield from his own major interest. But the student who thought his report might escape the critical eye of the master soon discovered that Phillips was acquainted with the sources. To the neophyte his knowledge seemed broad indeed; and the mature scholar found a lively interest in any aspect of southern or sectional scope. His own writings touched lightly on the abolition crusade; he was not unfamiliar with the subject, but contented himself with encouraging others to explore it meticulously.

As a writer, Phillips' evolution from the monographer of early years to the literary craftsman of maturity indicates a remarkable transformation. Seminar students recall his dictum, "The writer must take pains to save the reader pains." He was gifted at compressing phrases into words, paragraphs into sentences. He redrafted much of his own writing ten or twelve times to delete superfluous words and phrases.

In the polishing process he labored to find the word with the delicate shade of meaning to convey an exact idea. He used quoted matter copiously and effectively, and with a minimum of intrusion.

In William E. Dodd the South found a teacher and chronicler whose talents served the cause of historical scholarship in superior fashion. Born in North Carolina in 1869, he received the bachelor's and master's degrees at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He took the doctorate at the University of Leipzig in 1900, presenting as a dissertation a study of *Jefferson's Rückkehr zur Politik*. Returning to the United States, he sought an academic location and opportunity to write a biography of Nathaniel Macon. The summer of 1900 yielded research on the North Carolinian in the Library of Congress and correspondence with Adams relative to a post-doctoral fellowship at the Hopkins or a position as teacher of modern languages in one of the Baltimore boys' schools. Either alternative would enable him to take courses in institutional history with Adams and permit work on the Macon biography.⁴⁰ Before the end of the summer, Dodd was elected professor of history and economics at Randolph-Macon College.

Pioneering activities began immediately. The Randolph-Macon Historical Society was established, with its objectives the study of American history and the assembling of Virginia documents; and the *Branch Historical Papers* were inaugurated, published by the Society with funds from a Richmond patron, John P. Branch. The *Papers* would "stimulate and encourage the study and writing of history" and provide the editor with a medium for publishing Virginia sources. An early evidence of Dodd's interest in biography appeared in his decision to limit articles to sketches of Virginians, a dozen of which appeared under his editorship. These were contributed mainly by Randolph-Macon students, divided about equally between seniors and graduates. To encourage competition, the Bennett History Medal was awarded annually to the student who prepared the best essay, and it was usually assigned first position in the publication.⁴¹ With a minimum of editorial effort,

⁴⁰ William E. Dodd to Adams, July 16, 21, 1900, in Adams Correspondence.

⁴¹ *John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College* (Richmond, 1901-1918), I (1901-1904), No. 1 (1901), inside front cover, 1; No. 2 (1902), 65.

Dodd contributed to the *Papers* letters of Leven Powell, Thomas Ritchie, Spencer Roane, Nathaniel Macon, and John Taylor of Caroline.⁴² As further evidence of an interest in local and southern history, he offered courses on Virginia and the Confederacy.⁴³

Dodd's great opportunity came in 1908 with a call to a professorship in American history at the University of Chicago. For the next quarter century he taught southern history to an increasing number of graduate students, and, with frequent southern research excursions to supplement Chicago library holdings, delved into the South's past to produce a notable array of books and monographs.

No systematic courses on the history of the South were offered at Chicago before Dodd's appointment to the faculty, but some that touched upon the field were given by Jameson and Edwin E. Sparks.⁴⁴ Dodd's own offerings were diverse, whether in lecture courses or in seminars. Beginning with a survey of the political, social, and economic history of the South from 1607 to the present, he frequently taught some segment thereof or concentrated on the lower South. Occasionally he lectured on civilization of the ante-bellum South, the South and the Civil War, the social and economic bearings of the war, and Reconstruction history. His seminars showed even greater diversity of title, with a score or more of subjects receiving catalogue recognition.⁴⁵ Any recital of listings should be qualified by the observation,

⁴² *Ibid.*, I (1901-1904), No. 1 (1901), 24-63; No. 2 (1902), 111-54; No. 3 (1903), 217-56; No. 4 (1904), 325-73; II (1905-1908), No. 1 (1905), 47-142; No. 2 (1906), 78-183; Nos. 3-4 (1908), 253-353; III (1909-1912), No. 1 (1909), 27-93.

⁴³ *Catalogue of Randolph-Macon College . . . 1903-1904* (Lynchburg, 1904), 46; 1905-1906 (Richmond; [1906]), 52.

⁴⁴ As early as 1900 Edwin E. Sparks gave a course in Reconstruction history, later expanded to secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction, 1860-1872. A course in Confederate history appeared in 1906, and another on slavery expansion the following year. Meanwhile, Jameson had been teaching classes in the social and economic history of American slavery. *University of Chicago Annual Register, 1899-1900* (Chicago, 1900), 183, and other catalogues for the years 1900-1908.

⁴⁵ Interest in church history manifested itself in courses on the religious history of the South, the break-up of the churches in the two decades prior to the Civil War, church and state in the Old South, and the rise of democratic churches in the South from 1740 to 1800. Sometimes his program ran to highly specialized fields, as the South and the Declaration of Independence, the South and the tariff, the South and the Mexican War, the South and the Missouri Compromise, the South and the Compromise of 1850. The secession movement appeared in the catalogue several times; once the title was phrased as a

first, that variation in title did not necessarily mean a proportionate change in subject matter; and second, that seminar students were not required to choose topics which fell within the limits of the description. It is more important to understand that Dodd was a stimulating lecturer, that he proceeded informally, and that, because of an intense interest in the human equation, he often used a personal approach and talked about people. In seminars, as in the direction of dissertations, independent work was encouraged by a minimum of direct instruction and a maximum of student initiative. Important as were Dodd's writings, perhaps his greatest contribution to southern historical scholarship was his inspirational teaching which set the sails of a number of able scholars in the direction of the South and its history. However that may be, his productive work constitutes a substantial contribution to the literature of southern history.

"Democracy is the only thing worth fighting for in this world." This opinion Dodd expressed to a southern colleague in 1915 when a group of reformers, some of them Southerners, undertook to rid the American Historical Association of alleged "ring" rule. "My sympathies are all with the mass of the membership," he said, but he "would not move an inch to swap cliques," especially when "democracy is the last thing in the world that the leader of the present fight desires."⁴⁶

With Dodd, democracy was an obsession. The democratic tradition in American life permeated much of his writing. Recall the names of statesmen who absorbed his research and editorial interests—Thomas Jefferson, Spencer Roane, Thomas Ritchie, John Taylor, Nathaniel Macon, Jefferson Davis, John C. Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow

direct question, "Did the People of the South Wish to Secede in 1861?" Two seminars in South Carolina history appeared: South Carolina and the War with Mexico, and the influence of the state in southern history during the period 1833-1861. Twice he listed courses on the peculiar institution: slavery in the Southwest, and the slavery question in the Northwest. Southern influence in the Northwest illustrated his interest in the impact of his native region on that in which he lived. As Civil War offerings he listed the internal history of the Confederacy, later narrowed to studies in Confederate internal administration, Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy, and political and social problems during the Civil War. Once he prescribed economic influences in Reconstruction history. See University of Chicago catalogues for the period 1908-1933.

⁴⁶ Dodd to William K. Boyd, May 21, 1915, in Boyd Correspondence. See also, *id.* to *id.*, May 7, June 13, 1915, *ibid.*

Wilson. Recall also his volume on *The Old South*, which he subtitled *Struggles for Democracy* (1937). This first of a contemplated four-volume study emphasizes, in interpretative fashion, self-government, freedom of religion, free trade, and free homesteads. It is questionable whether there was as much democracy in the seventeenth-century South as Dodd indicates, or whether warring contemporaries recognized the democratic issue as squarely as he would have us believe. Occasionally he abandoned his chief concern, as in his *Cotton Kingdom* (1919), a readable synthesis of the last two ante-bellum decades; and once he considered a biographical study of the American system exponent. "Of recent months," he wrote in 1916, "I have been re-studying Henry Clay from the Durrett materials here and what new light I am getting on him! I am tempted to stop all and write a life of him, but one cannot do everything. But Clay was a great one from 1817 to 1825."⁴⁷

In his biographical efforts, as in other studies, Dodd did not disassociate politics and economics. American history must be written, he thought, "not with a view to economic determinism . . . but with full appreciation of economic factors. By appreciation I mean actual use of these factors in the warp and woof of written history."⁴⁸ He declared in his *Woodrow Wilson and His Work* that industrial development since the Civil War was as dangerous to American life as the slave régime of the Old South had been.⁴⁹ Several years earlier, in his *Jefferson Davis* (1907), he overstated this thesis and immediately apologized to a reviewer: "Indeed I do not remember to have said the ills of our industrialism are 'worse' than those of slavery. I ought to have said as bad as those of slavery—that is my opinion."⁵⁰

The uniqueness of Dodd's writings lies partly in his racy, rollicking style which carries the reader along with gusto, unless he pause to turn grammarian and attempt to analyze sentences that fill half a page or more. Between capital and period one frequently meets the whole gamut of punctuation known to composition—comma, colon, semi-

⁴⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, March 12, 1916, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ William E. Dodd, *Woodrow Wilson and His Work* (Garden City, N. Y., 1920), 61-68.

⁵⁰ Dodd to Boyd, April 15, 1908, in Boyd Correspondence.

colon, and dash—only to find an exclamation point where the period ordinarily performs its proper function. Witness the opening sentence in his *Lincoln or Lee*: "When Andrew Jackson, the happy warrior trim, correct, both feet out of the grave, well dressed and well mounted, bade farewell to Washington that memorable March day, 1837, the next great President of the United States was in the making, far off on the prairies of Illinois: Abraham, son of poor Nancy Hanks and trifling Thomas Lincoln, who had hired the boy to hard-fisted farmers on Pigeon Creek, Indiana, for twenty-five cents a day and put the proceeds into his own dirty pockets; Abraham Lincoln, six feet four, awkward, loose-jointed, and uneasy—used to the ills of a life that promised little but ill; meditative, restless, now and then called 'the mad Lincoln,' a young lawyer, twenty-eight years old, a member of the legislature of Illinois, and engaged, with his hustling, calculating little friend Stephen A. Douglas, twenty-four years old, in a piece of the most foolish legislation that was ever enacted."⁵¹ Thus, in a single sentence of 152 words, punctuated by 26 commas, 2 semicolons, a colon, a dash, and a period, the writer presents a personal and descriptive characterization of the first Democratic president, introduces Lincoln's immediate ancestors and comments on his father's financial policy, describes and psychoanalyzes the prairie lawyer-politician, alludes to a co-operative effort of the Illinois political rivals, and indirectly passes judgment on all presidents from Martin Van Buren to James Buchanan. In form, many of Dodd's sentences resemble the "loose-jointed" Lincoln; in substance, they remind one of the superior resources of the victorious North. They provide the reader with opportunity to develop memory, and blest be he who can recall the opening idea before the sentence is closed. But as a stylist, Dodd was an extremist, for later in the same book he wrote a one-word sentence, "Hardly [period],"⁵² which is hardly a sentence.

In discussing the contributions of Adams, Dunning, Dodd, and Phillips, the expression "school of historical thought" has been consciously avoided. Too often it is applied undeservedly to a group of

⁵¹ William E. Dodd, *Lincoln or Lee* (New York, 1928), 3-4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 94.

students in relation to their preceptor. The connotation is not always acclamatory, for there is an implication of subservient conformity. If carried to the *n*th degree, formulistic writing prevails and a stereotype obtains, with a consequent loss of independent thinking and valid conclusion. If, on the other hand, the expression involves only a kindred interest, a common approach, and the application of legitimate methodology in establishing historical verities, the end result may satisfy the scholarly concept. The test lies in the freedom of the mind to follow the whole truth even though it may modify or even disprove a stated thesis.

If there be validity in this analysis, it is difficult to conclude that any of these pioneers, with the possible exception of Dunning, established a school of thought. There is clearer indication of a pattern in the dissertations he directed, but even they have striking differences as well as similarities. With little evidence of special themes or theses transferred to later generations of scholars, it seems proper to conclude that independence of thought and judgment has characterized much of the research and writing in the field of southern history. The hundreds of scientifically-trained historians who have chronicled the South's past during the last half century have, with few exceptions, employed their talents in investigating narrow segments, in time and space, or in tracing the growth of particular institutions and concepts through longer periods of time. Most of the writing has been monographic in character, with adequate syntheses awaiting future effort.

The historical activities of men who did not have classroom contact with great scholars have also been significant in promoting historical scholarship in the South. One must credit Herbert E. Bolton and his students with contributing toward an understanding of the non-English periphery of the South, but it should also be recalled that Peter J. Hamilton produced some meritorious studies of the same region. Thomas M. Owen was the real pioneer in effective, organized historical activity, yet he was without benefit of training such as Riley received. The young Alabama lawyer was the motive force that vitalized the Alabama Historical Society, provided for a History Commission, and established a

Department of Archives and History. The comprehensive survey of his state's historical records and resources and the Department he created and directed for a score of years served as models for other states and became monuments to his industry and organizing genius.⁵³ The commanding historical stature of men like Philip A. Bruce, pioneer in the use of court records as a source of information, should not be ignored. His trilogy on the economic, social, and institutional history of Virginia in the seventeenth century still remains a standard reference after the lapse of a generation. It does not detract from his reputation to know that, while his *Economic History of Virginia* (1895) was in press, he felt the need of scientific training and sought financial aid to permit study for the doctorate at the Hopkins.⁵⁴ Nor does the revised and more adequate concept of the Old Dominion's colonial history by Thomas J. Wertenbaker invalidate the fundamental contribution that Bruce made.

This study has been primarily concerned with the pioneering activities of two generations of historical scholars whose work spanned the half century prior to the Association's inception. The intellectual grandchildren and great grandchildren of the first generation were active participants in establishing the society and in promoting its usefulness during the past decade. It remains to be said that their work and the contributions of scholars with other lineage, indeed some without historiographical ancestry, form an important chapter in southern historical scholarship.

⁵³ Thomas M. Owen (ed.), *Report of the Alabama History Commission to the Governor of Alabama, December 1, 1900* (Montgomery, 1901). This Report was published as Alabama Historical Society, *Publications* (Montgomery, 1901-1906), *Miscellaneous Collections*, I. For an appraisal of Owen's work, see R. D. W. Connor, "Dedication of the Archival Section of the Alabama World War Memorial Building," in *American Archivist* (Menasha, Wis., 1938-), IV (1941), 77-83.

⁵⁴ Philip A. Bruce to Adams, July 8, 13, 1895, in Adams Correspondence.

Carlota, A Confederate Colony in Mexico

BY CARL COKE RISTER

The collapse of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865 brought to the Confederate leaders, both civil and military, an immediate problem of examining their future status under the control of their former enemies. As is well known, most of them followed the example of General Robert E. Lee in accepting the outcome of the four years of conflict and seeking to return to normal peaceful pursuits; but for many the bitterness engendered by the war was too great to be easily overcome. To this bitterness there was soon added fear for their personal safety as Federal authorities began the program of arresting and imprisoning Confederate officials, and a more or less natural result was the desire to place themselves beyond the reach of punitive measures. If this could be done in such a way as to combine an assurance of freedom with prospects of economic recovery, so much the better. Thus for large numbers of those who were unwilling to submit, the situation in Mexico seemed to offer especially attractive possibilities. Almost immediately after the close of hostilities, therefore, various groups of former Confederates began the formulation of plans for migration, and in time most of these plans became associated in one way or another with the project to establish a Confederate colony at Carlota.

Prominent among the conditions which seemed favorable for these prospective immigrants into Mexico was the continued presence there of the French troops to support the Archduke Maximilian as puppet emperor and agent for carrying out the designs of Napoleon III. Since this French intervention had been made possible because of the absorption of the United States government in its own internal conflict, Maximilian's government had not assumed an unfriendly attitude to-

ward the Confederate cause, and had even shown a willingness to engage in unofficial conversations with Confederate agents concerning colonization projects and trade relations.¹ It seemed reasonable to assume, therefore, that these former Confederates might expect a welcome from the imperial authorities; and some of them were not altogether unmindful of the fact that their military experience might prove helpful if the United States should undertake to expel the French intruders from Mexico.

Meanwhile the government of the United States had been impatiently biding its time with regard to the French intervention, and Federal agents had been jealously watching the trade which had developed between the Confederates and the imperialist interests. A month before the end of the American conflict, for example, General Lew Wallace had reported from the mouth of the Rio Grande that he could stand on his boat and count at least a hundred vessels of all kinds laden with Confederate supplies lying off the Mexican port of Bagdad.² Such reports seemed to confirm the belief of General Ulysses S. Grant that a close affinity existed between the interests of the French and the Confederates, and strengthened his determination to take action as soon as Federal troops could be freed from duties east of the Mississippi. Since this was in accord with the desire of President Lincoln and Secretary of State William H. Seward to rid Mexico of the French as soon as possible, the way was quickly cleared for Grant to send General Philip H. Sheridan southward with a force of 52,000 men to lend aid and encouragement to the supporters of the Mexican president, Benito Juárez, in opposing the French designs.³ Sheridan was to operate along

¹ For a discussion of Confederate schemes during the course of the war, see J. Fred Rippy, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1926), 230-51.

² Lew Wallace to U. S. Grant, March 14, 1865, in *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 1, pp. 1276-79. Cited hereinafter as *Official Records*.

³ See manuscript entitled "Operations, VII," pp. 2-21, in Sheridan Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). Sheridan's reports to Grant on his activities along the border during June, July, and August, 1865, are in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 2, pp. 1015-1192, *passim*. A brief comment by Grant appears in U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1885-1886), II, 546.

the Rio Grande, and thus the stage was being set for American intervention in the Mexican situation at the very moment when an irreconcilable element of the Southerners was making its plans for a Confederate exodus to that country under French auspices.

That some of the Confederate leaders began their consideration of the possibilities of migration before the cessation of hostilities is indicated by the fact that as early as February, 1865, General E. Kirby Smith, commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, expressed his hope that "in the case of unexampled catastrophe to our arms and the final overthrow of the government" his services might be acceptable to Maximilian.⁴ Three months later, after the surrender of the Confederate armies in the East but before the capture of President Jefferson Davis, Smith asked a friend to call on Maximilian to say that if the Confederacy should fall and if the United States should then direct its "schemes of ambition and territorial aggrandizement" toward Mexico, he would offer his sword to the imperial cause. He stated that he could bring with him "9,000 Missourians, . . . [and] not less than 10,000 men, daring and gallant spirits from other States in this department . . . who would rally around any flag that promises to lead them to battle against their former foe."⁵

Other Confederate leaders, with the same object in mind but with somewhat less regard for formalities, had already begun to plan for immediate action, and on May 13 a group of them, including Generals William Preston of Kentucky, Alexander T. Hawthorne of Arkansas, and Joseph O. Shelby of Missouri, and Colonels George Flournoy of Texas and William A. Lewis of Missouri, met at the home of former Senator Louis T. Wigfall in Marshall, Texas, to consider organizing a large force for such a Mexican venture before the Confederate troops were demobilized. They first asked Smith to take command of their proposed expedition, but he insisted upon waiting until President Davis gave orders for the disbandment of the troops. They then turned to General Simon B. Buckner, but he, too, declined, on the grounds that

⁴ E. Kirby Smith to Robert Rose, February 1, 1865, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 1, p. 1359.

⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, May 2, 1865, *ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 1292-93.

he could not act until Smith had freed him from duties with the army of the Trans-Mississippi Department. This caused a delay which almost proved fatal to the emigration plan, for within a few days most of the troops, feeling that the war was over, had left for home without waiting to be discharged.⁶

A short time later, however, at Pittsburg, Texas, General Shelby organized a force of three hundred men from his command for a Mexican expedition, and many others subsequently joined him. On June 1, well equipped with two field pieces, rifles, pistols, sabers, and plenty of ammunition,⁷ they started on their long march for the Rio Grande, going by way of Corsicana, Austin, San Antonio, Eagle Pass, Piedras Negras, and Monterey, stopping at the Rio Grande only long enough to bury their battle flag. When Shelby arrived at Austin, Governor Pendleton Murrah, suffering from tuberculosis, asked permission to join the emigrants and to take \$3,000 in gold which was in the Confederate sub-treasury.⁸ Shelby accepted Murrah, but he insisted that the money be left behind. The group arrived in San Antonio on June 15. Here they found others ready to join their Mexican venture.⁹ Governor Henry W. Allen of Louisiana had arrived early in June, to be joined shortly afterward by former Governor Thomas O. Moore from the same state; and by June 15 Governor Thomas C. Reynolds of Missouri, former Governor Edward Clark of Texas, and Generals John B. Clark of Missouri, Danville Leadbetter of Alabama, Cadmus

⁶ Alexander W. Terrell, *From Texas to Mexico and the Court of Maximilian in 1865* (Dallas, 1933), 1-2, is an account of this plan by one of the men who became involved in it.

⁷ Sheridan complained that General Smith's soldiers, encouraged by their own officers, had plundered the government stores of arms, ammunition, and food in violation of their surrender agreement. "Everything on wheels at Alexandria," he said, "has been run over into Mexico." Sheridan to John A. Rawlins, June 4, 1865, in *Field Dispatches Sent, 1862-1871*, Sheridan Papers. For a somewhat different version, see John N. Edwards, *Shelby and His Men: or the War in the West* (Cincinnati, 1867), 445-48.

⁸ Luther E. Chandler, "The Career of Henry Watkins Allen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1940), 232.

⁹ On June 15 Governor Henry W. Allen wrote from San Antonio: "This is a city, full of goods and strangers—full of refugees, going further west. General Shelby will arrive to-day, with his command: we will all go together." Sarah A. Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen* (New York, 1866), 325-26.

M. Wilcox of Tennessee, Thomas C. Hindman of Arkansas, William Preston of Kentucky, and William P. Hardeman of Texas were also present. Still later arrivals included Generals Kirby Smith and John B. Magruder; but they followed in a separate party, since Shelby's expedition had already left San Antonio for Mexico on June 17.¹⁰

Before Shelby reached the Rio Grande, some of the *émigrés*, becoming impatient, formed small parties and traveled their separate ways. Most of those who left San Antonio in June, including Shelby's command, crossed the Rio Grande at Eagle Pass or Piedras Negras to avoid Federal patrols; others entered Mexico at Laredo and Brownsville; and still others, higher up the river.¹¹

When Shelby arrived before Monterey he found the place occupied by General Jeanningros with 5,000 French and Mexican soldiers. But he was determined to move ahead. He sent this note to Jeanningros, translated into excellent French by Governor Reynolds:

General: I have the honor to report that I am within one mile of your fortifications with my command. Preferring exile to surrender, I have left my own country to seek service in that held by His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Maximilian. Shall it be peace or war between us? If the former, and with your permission, I shall enter your lines at once, claiming at your hands that courtesy due from one soldier to another. If the latter, I propose to attack immediately.¹²

Since there were already friendly relations between the Imperialists and Confederates, Jeanningros permitted the party to enter the city, and extended to its leaders a cordial reception. Although he refused to admit any of his guests into the imperial army, he permitted them to march on to Mexico, but not until he had afforded them royal entertainment. That night, after assigning quarters to the men, he gave the leaders a dinner at which he regaled them with stories of the

¹⁰ Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 233-35. See also, Mary V. Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards: Biography, Memoirs, Reminiscences, and Recollections* (Kansas City, 1889), 247-48. Pages 229-428 of this work contain a reprint of John N. Edwards, *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico* (Kansas City, 1872). Edwards was a member of the expedition.

¹¹ Terrell, *From Texas to Mexico*, 18-19.

¹² Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards*, 288.

Crimean War, of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, of the Italian campaigns in which he had been engaged, and of other martial enterprises.¹³

Like San Antonio, Monterey soon became the stopping place of distinguished Southerners—Smith, Reynolds, Murrah, Shelby, Magruder, Allen, Edward Clark, Jubal A. Early, Sterling Price, and others.¹⁴ Sheridan wrote to Grant on July 10 that "Governor Murrah, of Texas, and the ex-Governor [Edward Clark], and Walker, Shelby, and others are at Monterey and in considerable numbers. . . . and are represented by a Matamoras newspaper as 10,000 strong. This is an exaggeration."¹⁵

Some Confederates who came seeking new homes and opportunities found only graves. Murrah died shortly after reaching Monterey; and Major General Monroe Parsons, Colonel William Standish, William Conrow, and three privates were captured and shot by the Juaristas while they were attempting to make their way back to the United States.¹⁶

Soon after July 4 the Confederates began leaving Monterey for the mining town of San Luis Potosí. John N. Edwards, one of the *émigrés* and a former member of Shelby's staff, stated that at San Luis Potosí, General Felix C. Douay, the French commander, bluntly demanded an explanation of their presence in Mexico. Shelby replied that he was there to join the Imperialists and that if he were accepted he thought he could recruit a force of 50,000 men. Douay was much impressed by this statement and sent a messenger to Mexico City to ask Marshal François Bazaine's wishes in the matter. Soon an order came back for Shelby to proceed to the capital.¹⁷ Sheridan, writing a short time later, stated that the governor of Nuevo Leon had disarmed Shelby and his men and then permitted them to go to Molino del Rey,

¹³ *Ibid.*, 289; Terrell, *From Texas to Mexico*, 21.

¹⁴ Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards*, 289; Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry W. Allen*, 326-29.

¹⁵ Sheridan to Grant, July 10, 1865, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 2, p. 1068. See also, *id* to *id.*, August 1 and 9, 1865, *ibid.*, 1149, 1174; and Grant to President Andrew Johnson, June 19, 1865 *ibid.*, 923-24.

¹⁶ Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 236.

¹⁷ Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards*, 234-35.

and that he suspected that Maximilian had made an agreement with them for the colonization of Tehuantepec and Chiapas.¹⁸ But Shelby and a few of his battle-scarred veterans went on to Mexico City while others returned to the United States.

The journey from San Luis Potosí to Mexico City, which required about six days, seems to have been made individually or in small groups. Among the first to arrive in the capital were Cadmus M. Wilcox, on July 16, and General Smith on the next day; and later, Governor Moore, Alexander W. Terrell, and George Flournoy. Governor Allen joined the group on July 28, and Isham G. Harris, former governor of Tennessee, came about the same time.¹⁹

Arriving at Mexico City with badly depleted funds and anxious to obtain immediate employment, the members of this expedition found that plans for Confederate colonization were already being laid under the leadership of Matthew F. Maury, and thus that the stage had been partially set for their favorable reception. Maury had been in England as an agent of the Confederate Navy Department and was on his return journey to Richmond when word reached him at St. Thomas of the downfall of the Confederacy. Believing that it would be unsafe for him to proceed to Virginia, he quickly made his decision to go to Mexico and take service under Maximilian, with whom he had had friendly associations before the beginning of the Civil War. Writing to a friend in Virginia, he mentioned a plan to arrange for the colonization of former Confederates in Mexico, and added: "If Max. is wise and will encourage my plans I can assist mightily to make firm the foundations of his dynasty."²⁰ He was cordially received by Maximilian and his Empress, Carlota, on his arrival in Mexico City in June, 1865, and at the beginning of August, just as the

¹⁸ Sheridan to Grant, August 1, 1865, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 2, pp. 1147-48.

¹⁹ Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 238; Terrell, *From Texas to Mexico*, 45; Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry W. Allen*, 329.

²⁰ Matthew F. Maury to F. W. Tremlett, May 19, 1865, in Maury Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). A good brief discussion of Maury's work in Mexico is in Charles L. Lewis, *Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Pathfinder of the Seas* (Annapolis, 1927), 186-201; and for an earlier account, written by Maury's daughter, see Diana F. M. Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury* (London, 1888), 225 ff.

members of Shelby's party were reaching the capital, he was appointed to the office of Imperial Commissioner of Colonization.

Maury immediately became interested in the colonizing possibilities which were offered by the arrival of this group, and through his efforts Shelby was granted a conference with Maximilian and Bazaine at Chapultepec. Although Shelby's offer to raise an army for the imperial cause was declined, the Emperor, apparently with the colonization project in mind, encouraged him to accept civil employment and showed his willingness to make provision for members of his party. To Terrell and Hardeman, for example, who had brought letters of introduction from the late Governor Murrah, he gave the rank of *chef de bataillon* in the French army at a salary of \$3,000, at the same time presenting Terrell with some much desired gold to care for their immediate needs. Governor Allen received a subsidy of \$10,000 to publish an English-language newspaper, and with the assistance of two printers he promptly started publication in Mexico City of the *Mexican Times*, a weekly paper devoted in large part to the activities of American immigrants.²¹

Meanwhile Maury proceeded rapidly with the organization of his plan to attract Southerners to Mexico. He opened an office in Mexico City and appointed agents in the United States, each of whom was to receive a salary of \$100 per month and an annual expense allowance of \$300. State agents were appointed in Virginia, Texas, North and South Carolina, Missouri, California, Louisiana, and Alabama; and a short time later others were named in New York, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Buffalo.²² In Mexico, he appointed General Magruder as chief of the land office for colonization, and sent other fellow-Confederates to inspect Mexican lands suitable for colonists. Sterling Price, Isham G. Harris, and Judge John Perkins went to the Cordoba region; William P. Hardeman and

²¹ Terrell, *From Texas to Mexico*, 53-55; Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry W. Allen*, 333; Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 238-39. A file of the *Mexican Times* is in the Louisiana State University Library.

²² New York *Herald*, October 20, 1865; Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 259. Correspondence and other documentary materials appear in *House Executive Documents*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, pp. 202-16, and No. 76, pp. 500-528.

Judge Oran M. Roberts of Texas to Guadalajara; William M. Anderson and John G. Lux to Monterey; George W. Clarke to Durango; Alonzo Ridley to Mazatlan; John Henry Brown to Merida, near Orizaba; and Z. P. Cropesa to Vera Cruz.²³

When the inspection reports were received from these groups, Maury favored those made on the Cordoba-Orizaba-Vera Cruz region, and recommended to Maximilian a series of military colonies along the railroad between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, choosing as the site for his first village a place seventy miles west of Vera Cruz and nine miles southeast of Cordoba, near the present town of Paraje Nuevo.²⁴ The village was to be named Carlota, in honor of the Empress, who had taken much interest in the material welfare of the exiles.²⁵ The land (500,000 acres) had been taken from the Church by Juárez and subsequently claimed by Maximilian. The village square had as its center a grove of shady mango trees, in which was a well of fine water.

Maury wrote to his wife shortly afterward that he was "now selling these lands to immigrants, at \$1.00 the acre on five years' credit"; that numerous members of Shelby's party were already there and had sent for their families; that a pastor and teacher had been engaged by the settlement; and that land would be reserved for a church, cemetery, and school house. "Thus you see," he added, "colonization is a fact, not a chimera. By the time these lands are paid for they will be worth, even if no more settlers come to the Empire, \$20, \$30, or even \$100 the acre, for they produce everything under the sun, and yield perpetual harvests."²⁶ At the same time he was showing even greater enthusiasm for the climate and soil of the region in the preparation of literature designed to appeal to prospective colonists. In a statement of November 18, 1865, for example, he explained that

²³ Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 259.

²⁴ The site is identified in Blair Niles, *Passengers to Mexico* (New York, 1943), 365.

²⁵ Governor Allen wrote to Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey on August 10, 1865, that Carlota had shown "that we poor Confederate exiles had her heartfelt sympathy." Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry W. Allen*, 331.

²⁶ Maury to Mrs. Maury, November 27, 1865, Maury Papers, quoted in Lewis, *Matthew F. Maury*, 198.

Mexican crop returns would seem incredible in the United States and fabulous in Europe. "In some places," he said, "it crowns the labor of the husbandman regularly with two, and in others with three harvests annually; and in each, one gathers one hundred, two hundred, sometimes three hundred, and occasionally four hundred fold." Under Mexico's climates "that make existence itself an enjoyment, . . . the vegetable kingdom displays its wealth and its powers most gorgeously, and with the most marvellous vigor and concentration."²⁷ Among the crops that would produce bountifully, he listed cotton, corn, olives, grapes, tobacco, coffee, sugar cane, cocoa, rice, indigo, cochineal, pimento, India rubber, and henequen.

To supplement his advertising for colonists, Maury approved the creation of a bureau of correspondence in New York City, saying that there was a lamentable state of ignorance in the United States concerning Mexico.²⁸ As part of his campaign to overcome that ignorance he sent copies of Maximilian's recent decrees relating to the colonization plans, together with his own statement of November 18 describing the conditions.

These decrees showed that land in Maury's "agricultural paradise" was available on reasonable terms, and in one of them a somewhat covert appeal to Confederate refugees appeared in the statement that "his majesty the emperor, touched by the spectacle of good men struggling with adversity in other lands, tenders hospitality and homes especially to these." The decree outlining the general terms of the program specified that civil and military settlements should be made along the railroad from Vera Cruz to Mexico City at distances of not more than four or five leagues from each other; that each settlement should have an area of at least one square league; and that proper provisions for defense should be made. The location of the Carlota site met the requirement that the first settlement should be established

²⁷ *Mexican Times*, December 9, 1865; *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, pp. 209-12. See also a letter from Maury to an unidentified addressee, dated February 7, 1866, *ibid.*, No. 76, pp. 522-26.

²⁸ Maury to E. Farrenne, December 6, 1865, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, p. 204.

between La Soledad and Puebla; and more definite specifications in supplementary decrees indicated the conditions on which individuals might acquire land in this region. For men with families, 640 acres could be had at one dollar per acre; and for unmarried men, 320 acres at the same price. Payments could be made in five annual installments. The property was not to be taxed for the first year, and settlers were to be exempt from military duty for five years and were to be naturalized as soon as they settled on their land.²⁹

A letter which Maury wrote to a friend in Virginia during the early stages of his planning indicates that he also considered the possibility of using Negro slave labor in the proposed colonies, perhaps as a further means of attracting Southerners. He said:

The present population of Mexico is said to be eight millions, more than seven of which belong to what with you is called the laboring classes. Yet with the richest soils, the finest of climates, their perpetual harvests, and marvellous variety of productions, these seven millions of people contribute annually less than £7,000,000 to the commerce of the world.

The laboring classes of the South, though but little more than half as numerous as these, enabled that country to throw into the channels of commerce an amount of raw produce annually that was worth more than \$300,000,000 or £60,000,000 sterling.

You may well imagine the effect, therefore, upon the prosperity of this country, and the stability of the Empire, which would follow the introduction of a few hundred thousands of these very laborers, guided, as they should be, by the skill and experience of their former masters.³⁰

So far as the records show, however, this suggestion was not followed up, and the settlers at Carlota either did their own work or depended upon Mexican laborers. A correspondent of the *New York Herald* who visited the settlement during its early development said: "The stage, or rather the wagon, had just reached the top of a small hill, when I saw in the plain before me a few tents scattered here and there, and at about five hundred yards, a cluster of a dozen unfinished houses pleasantly situated along a brook lined with a row of trees and plants.

²⁹ The decrees, five in number, dated September 5 and 7, and November 6, 1865, are in *ibid.*, 204-209.

³⁰ Maury to F. W. Tremlett, August 8, 1865, in Corbin, *Life of Matthew F. Maury*, 232.

... I saw a lot of Mexicans who were engaged in moulding and drying up to the sun large bricks, about half a yard square, and which appeared to me as hard as stones."³¹

The problem of labor did not disturb the Confederate refugees who had left Texas with General Shelby, however, and most of them quickly turned to the prospects for immediate settlement offered by the Carlota project. The first issue of Governor Allen's *Mexican Times* gave the names of ninety-three of these "emigrants of the United States of America" who had recently arrived in Mexico;³² and about six weeks later Shelby wrote from near-by Cordoba: "There are about two hundred confederates here. We are settling on the railroad, in the finest agricultural country in the world, seventy miles from Vera Cruz."³³ And Maury himself shortly afterward added the testimony that "Gentlemen representing several thousand families in Europe, and hundreds in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, the Carolinas, Ala-

³¹ *New York Herald*, January 12, 1866 (Supplement).

³² *Mexican Times*, September 16, 1865. The list, which also appears in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 76, p. 521, was as follows: "Sterling Price, Missouri; J. B. Magruder, Virginia; Isham G. Harris, Tennessee; E. Clark, Texas; Trusten Polk, Jo. O. Shelby, Missouri; H. W. Allen, H. Denis, W. A. Broadwell, Louisiana; M. F. Maury, Virginia; J. Perkins, Louisiana; Heber Price, H. M. Duncan, J. P. Tucker, Missouri; W. P. Hardeman, H. P. Bee, M. W. Sims, Texas; Geo. Young, R. J. Laurence, C. G. Jones, J. N. Edwards, Missouri; D. C. Cage, Louisiana; W. Yowell, George Hall, F. M. Kephart, R. A. Collins, Y. H. Blackwell, J. Terry, J. Moreland, T. Boswell, W. J. McArthur, J. C. Wood, E. Wood, M. M. Langhorne, F. T. Mitchell and family, Missouri; Mr. Wood and wife, Missouri; D. W. Bouldin, Missouri; S. Hunkel, Missouri; J. Beard, Missouri; W. Skidmore, Missouri; H. Thomas, Missouri; C. M. Wilcox, Tennessee; R. Joseph, Missouri; T. Weston, Louisiana; H. B. Acton, Missouri; J. Donahoe, California; I. Reed, Virginia; T. J. Divine, Texas; J. Brown, North Carolina, Señor Kimmel, Missouri; Leadbetter, Alabama; Señor Conrow, Missouri; Señor O'Bannon, South Carolina; Señor Jones, Texas; Señor Thompson, H. T. Childs and family, Missouri; M. L. Kritser, Missouri; J. S. Kritser, Missouri; T. Whalen, California; J. M. Meador, T. Collins, W. Fell, B. F. Jones, J. B. Kirtley, J. B. Conner, G. M. Winship, J. Ward, Missouri; E. Lilly, N. T. Fincher, Texas; H. McNamee, California; R. J. Flynn, R. H. S. Thompson, Louisiana; Señor Bartlett, Mississippi; G. Mitchell, J. N. Lane, B. H. Lyon, Kentucky; J. J. Gaenslen, Virginia; T. C. Hindman, Arkansas; J. H. Brown and family, J. Brown, P. M. Brown, H. C. Cook, Texas; Richard Taylor, Kentucky; O. M. Watkins, Louisiana; T. C. Reynolds, Missouri; A. Ridley, California; E. Kirby Smith, Florida; J. N. Martin, J. G. Walker, Missouri; T. O. Moore, Louisiana; W. Preston, Señor Roberts, Texas; Alfred Mordecai, North Carolina."

³³ Joseph O. Shelby to Frank Lilly, November 1, 1865, in *House Exec. Docs.*, No. 1, Part 3, pp. 203-204.

bama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in the United States, are anxiously seeking information in regard to the country, its condition, and resources, with the view of making it their home."³⁴

Although new colonists did not come on anything like the scale anticipated by Maury, the settlement at Carlota was soon humming with activity. General Sterling Price, who came to be looked upon both by the Mexican laborers and by the settlers themselves as the leader in the colony, built a straw-roofed bamboo cottage, massive and unplastered, and sent for his family. He had commenced the life of a farmer, and had entered into a partnership with General James E. Slaughter, from Texas, in the operation of a sawmill. General Hamilton P. Bee, also from Texas, turned to cotton growing, as did several other notable refugees. General Hindman combined farming with the practice of law; General Walter H. Stevens, formerly the chief engineer on General Lee's staff, was made the chief engineer on the Mexican Imperial Railroad; and Governor Reynolds was appointed superintendent of two short-line railroads running out of Mexico City. Other members of the colony were appointed government surveyors, and General Shelby added to his farming activities a business enterprise as freight contractor for a wagon train plying between the railroad terminus of Paso del Macho and Mexico City. And Governor Allen, as editor of the *Mexican Times*, made his contribution by publishing all items of interest about the activities of Carlota.³⁵

Most of these former Confederates felt bitter about being exiles from the land of their birth, but they found no fault with Carlota as their new home. Indeed, nature smiled on their efforts. One of them wrote several years later: "A village sprung up almost over night. The men were happy and sang at their toil. Birds of beautiful plumage flew near and nearer to them while they plowed, and in the heat of the afternoons they reposed for comfort under orange trees that were white with bloom and golden with fruit at the same time."³⁶ Another,

³⁴ Maury's Statement of November 18, 1865, *ibid.*, 209.

³⁵ Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards*, 370; Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 266.

³⁶ Edwards (comp.), *John N. Edwards*, 369.

who had arrived with his family in November, reported in February, 1866: "We have at this time green peas, tomatoes, cabbage, turnips, beets, carrots, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, turkeys, eggs, chickens, fresh beef, pork, bananas, oranges, lemons, and one hundred other different varieties of fruits and vegetables, fresh and in abundance." In his opinion, the colony would never be without vegetables at any season of the year; and he added that he intended to cultivate coffee and tobacco, an enterprise in which "any man with ordinary skill and attention" could become immensely wealthy in five years.³⁷ General Price was not so extravagant in his claims, but he wrote that his neighbor, an earlier settler in the region, "cultivates eighty (80) acres of coffee with ten hands, and sold his last year's crop for \$16,000." His coffee field, he said, "shaded with every variety of fruit trees, in full bearing, and the walks fringed with the pineapple, is the most beautiful sight I have ever seen."³⁸

As this particular experiment developed signs of success and stability, Maury also became increasingly enthusiastic as to colonization prospects in general in the Carlota country. Writing to his children in Virginia, on March 1, 1866, he described its broad valleys and tablelands as the "loveliest view possible." There was the beautiful valley of Aconcinga, and spreading out miles away into the plains of Orizaba, another broad valley was quilted over with smiling crops in all stages of growth, from sprouting corn to ripe grain. Reapers were in fields of the yellowest and brightest barley he had ever seen, and yet wheat was just coming up; and the immense herds of cattle, as they fed on rich pastures, lent a charm to the landscape that was altogether lovely. Literally, he was in the midst of fruits and flowers—orange trees loaded with ripe fruit, and peach trees in all their glory of blossom.³⁹

In this same letter Maury reported the arrival of two shiploads of immigrants who had been refused permission by General Sheridan to

³⁷ Benjamin Crowther to J. Calvin Littrell, February 9, 1866, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, pp. 212-13.

³⁸ Letter from Sterling Price, December 16, 1865, *ibid.*, 215-16, reprinted from the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* without giving date of the issue or name of the addressee.

³⁹ Corbin, *Life of Matthew F. Maury*, 249-50.

embark from New Orleans for Mexico and who had evaded the restriction by sailing first to Havana and coming from there to Vera Cruz. Commenting on a statement attributed to Sheridan to the effect that he was determined "to break up that Maury nest of Confederates which was agitating the public mind of the South and preventing the people there from quietly submitting to subjugation," he believed that this new arrival proved that the movement could not be stopped. But, he said, "I thank him for the encouragement"; and then he proceeded to predict that "We are going to have happy times, a fine country, and a bright future here."⁴⁰ Two days after writing this letter, however, he sailed for England, "for the purpose of returning with his family to Mexico after the rainy season, next October,"⁴¹ and as a result of the developments of the next few months never returned to the colony.

It was inevitable that as the newness of this Mexican venture began to wear off, the thoughts of the refugees would turn more frequently to their former homes. Even before Maury's departure many disappointed colonists had gone back to the United States, taking with them discouraging accounts; but the recent arrivals by way of Havana had more than doubled the population of Carlota, and had led the *Mexican Times* to comment that the colony was overcrowded and that "proprietors each day are becoming more exorbitant in their terms."⁴² Early in April, Richard L. Maury, who was serving as acting commissioner during his father's absence, reported that the Federal authorities had refused to permit the Mexican colonization agents to operate in the United States.⁴³ With the coming of the rainy season, soon afterward, many were stricken with dysentery and fever, and could not obtain proper medical care.⁴⁴ Governor Allen, one of those who died during this period, probably expressed the nostalgia of most of the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 250-51.

⁴¹ Richard L. Maury to W. C. S. Ventress, March 3, 1866, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, p. 214.

⁴² *Mexican Times*, March 24, 1866.

⁴³ Richard L. Maury to O. G. O'Neal, April 10, 1866, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 76, pp. 527-28.

⁴⁴ Chandler, "The Career of Henry W. Allen," 267.

group when he wrote: "When I am sick in this lonely chamber, and I pass hours and hours with no one but my Mexican servant to listen to the impatient ravings of a fevered brain, oh, then, I think of those dear ones I have left in Louisiana, of home, of all whom I loved so much."⁴⁵

While the development of such a series of adverse circumstances naturally dampened the enthusiasm of the settlers for the experiment which they had launched, it is perhaps correct to say that the fundamental cause of the abandonment of the colony was the political chaos incident to the transition from Maximilian's rule in Mexico to the reinstatement of President Juárez. The progress of Secretary Seward's negotiations with the French minister in Washington in 1866, combined with Sheridan's hostile demonstrations against the Imperialists along the Rio Grande and with developments in Europe, finally forced Napoleon to abandon Mexico. As the French troops were withdrawn and the forces of the Liberal party gradually regained control of the country, it became clear that a group of colonists who had been so closely linked with the imperial régime could not expect friendly treatment from its successors.

Although the Carlotans began to see the handwriting on the wall early in the summer of 1866, the following sarcastic comment on their condition, published in the *New York Tribune* on June 22 of that year, proved to be premature:

The hopes the confederate emigrants to Mexico had entertained of an extensive settlement in that country under the paternal hand of a much admired and praised monarch, as they themselves designated Maximilian, are at an end. The Cordova colony, founded by General Price and Judge Harris, has broken up. The far-famed city of Carlotta, laid out by the former, and consisting of a house, a barn, and a stable, has been destroyed. The fields of coffee, by means of which Judge Perkins, of Louisiana, expected to retrieve his lost fortunes, have been ravaged; the pineapple plants, out of which General Price was to distill a most delicious fourth-proof brandy, have been uprooted and trampled upon by the hoofs of the guerrilleros' mustangs; the palm-roofed shanties, under the shelter of which about one hundred southern emigrants have sought a refuge, have been burned to the ground, and their inmates, home-

⁴⁵ Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry W. Allen*, 334-35.

less and penniless, compelled to fly to the city of Cordova for protection, are now seriously contemplating the abandonment of Mexico forever, and the going back to the United States.⁴⁶

This was followed by a distorted account of a raid, reported to have occurred in the preceding January, in which Juaristas, outlaws from the near-by mountains, and local *peones* had banded together to break up the colony. The story went on to explain that the *peones*, who constituted the Mexican labor supply in the colony, had defaulted on a labor contract, and that armed Carlotans had rounded them up, had forced them by threats to return to their fields, and had posted guards to see that they did not again desert. Thereupon the *peones* had leagued with the outlaws and Juaristas to destroy the settlement, sparing only the homes of Price, Harris, and a few others who were not involved in coercing the laborers, and to carry away twenty-eight of its inhabitants as hostages.⁴⁷ Inasmuch as the Carlotans themselves were apparently unaware of such a calamity in their colony, it seems clear that the *Tribune* reporter had transferred to Carlota a raid which occurred at Omealco, another Confederate colony, and had perhaps supplied names and details to suit either his imagination or his prejudices. The contemporary issues of the *Mexican Times* gave attention to the Omealco raid, stating that the colony there had suffered "a serious interruption at the hands of liberals or robbers, it is not known which," and that Marshal Bazaine had taken measures to safeguard the settlers against future molestation, while the colonists themselves had formed an organization for self-defense.⁴⁸

Actually, however, the termination of the Confederate experiment at Carlota was neither as sudden nor as dramatic as the *Tribune* story would seem to suggest. Manifestations of Mexican hostility toward foreigners increased in direct ratio with the Liberal gains during 1866; and consequently the colonists began to leave either singly or in small groups for the United States or elsewhere. Even the leaders dropped

⁴⁶ Quoted in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Part 3, p. 214.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁴⁸ *Mexican Times*, June 16, 1866. See also, issues of May 26, and June 2, 9, and 23, 1866.

out of the picture one at a time. Maury had left, ostensibly at least, for reasons not connected with the decline of imperial authority, and with the announced intention of returning. Generals Magruder and Early got away before midsummer with no intentions of coming back, going first to Cuba and eventually to the United States. The deaths of Allen and General Stevens removed two more; and Price, broken with sickness and grief, returned to St. Louis, where he died a short time later. Governor Harris waited until "the last footfall of retreating colonists . . . was heard dying away, then . . . took ship for Havana," early in 1867. Shelby, who had led most of the group into Mexico, was the last to leave, "as if protecting the retreat."⁴⁹ He joined Baron Sauvage in a Tuxpan colonization scheme after the failure of Carlota, but this was soon abandoned. Then he, too, turned homeward, saying farewell to the sugar and coffee fields of the land of the Aztecs.

⁴⁹ "The Cordoba Colony," in *Kansas Magazine* (Topeka, 1872-1873), I (1872), 497.

The Vicissitudes of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal During the Civil War

BY WALTER S. SANDERLIN

In the era of general industrial growth and prosperity which came to the northern states during the Civil War, those transportation lines, both railroads and canals, which served the larger markets and secured a part of the heavy war traffic shared in the war-inspired boom.¹ The New York Central and Erie railroads, for example, together carried over 3,300,000 tons in 1862, as compared with 3,285,752 tons for the two-year period of 1858-1859. The gross revenue and net income of the Pennsylvania railroad east of Pittsburgh and Erie also doubled between 1860 and 1863. Under the impetus of the increased trade the larger and more prosperous roads expanded their lines and consolidated their positions, double-tracking the main routes, building feeder branches, and developing new roads. Nor was this prosperity limited to the railroads. Traffic on the Erie canal increased by over a third, from 7,447,886 tons in 1858-1859 to 10,106,420 tons in 1861-1862.²

On the other hand, those railroads and canals located outside the economic and geographical core formed by the Middle Atlantic states did not experience such an immediate or marked expansion of trade.

¹ Emerson D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War* (New York, 1910), 42, 77. Unfortunately, Fite loosely and incorrectly gives the reader an impression of immediate and continuous prosperity for all the transportation lines of the North.

² "Ship Canals and Railroads," in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (New York, 1839-1870), XLIX (1863), 13; Fite, *Conditions in the North during the Civil War*, 54-59; Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), II, 38-39, 41-43; Howard W. Schotter, *The Growth and Development of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company* (Philadelphia, 1927), 58-61, 114. Schotter shows that the gross revenues of the Pennsylvania rose from \$5,932,701.48 to \$12,628,071.31, and that the net income increased from \$2,296,402.40 to \$5,159,696.55.

The New England lines, already prosperous, showed little advance in their fortunes during the war. To the south, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, frequently in the war zone, was even less fortunate. Freight revenues on its main line from Baltimore to the west fell off by almost a third from 1860 to 1861. In addition, the depredations of the war brought large repair and maintenance costs. The increasing trade of the vital Washington branch and the interest of the government in its continued operation brought aid and comfort to the Baltimore and Ohio until the main line regained and improved its former position.³

The position of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal during the war was similar to that of its great rival, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The canal, however, did not have the advantages of a strong financial condition, prosperous branches, or large-scale government aid.

This canal extended from Washington, D. C., to Cumberland, Maryland, at the foot of the Allegheny Mountains. When construction began in 1828, the intention was to connect the Potomac River at Washington with the Ohio at Pittsburgh. The canal company absorbed a predecessor, known as the Potomac Company, which had sought unsuccessfully to render the Potomac navigable by a series of short canals around the falls of that river. This earlier company, sponsored by George Washington, had started with great enthusiasm and greater hopes in 1785; but it proved impossible to complete its task without the additional work of deepening the river channel. The company lacked adequate resources for this enterprise and had become bankrupt by 1828. Its successor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, was organized to build a continuous canal instead of attempting to deepen the river itself. In addition to local capital, this company had the support of the national government. President John Quincy Adams

³ Hungerford, *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, II, 4, gives the freight revenues of that road as \$3,224,467.50 in 1860, and \$2,324,467.50 in 1861. See also, *ibid.*, I, 349; II, 15, 64-65. After the war the Baltimore and Ohio received \$3,000,000 from the government in payment for damages sustained during the conflict. On the other hand, the claims of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company for roughly \$300,000 were flatly rejected. M. S. Sudington to James C. Clarke, President, February 8, 1871, in Records of the Quartermaster General's Office (War Department Archives, National Archives), cited hereinafter as Quartermaster General's Records. An extended correspondence over an eight-year period preceded this rejection.

inaugurated the project on behalf of the federal government by turning the first spadeful of earth on July 4, 1828. After many ups and downs the canal was finished only as far as Cumberland, and then not until 1850. At this place it tapped large coal fields which became the major source of its revenue during the decade before the war.

During the early years of the war the Chesapeake and Ohio canal failed to share in the general prosperity. Instead, for many reasons and in many ways, it faced recurring crises. One reason for its failure to secure much of the increased trade was that it was not a through route to the west, never reaching beyond the mountains. It could not, therefore, command a large portion of the heavy east-west traffic. Also, its geographical location was unfortunate because its entire line was in the war zone. Consequently it was frequently raided and occupied by the contending armies. The resulting irregularity of its services as a carrier argued against large-scale use of it by the government or by private shippers. Furthermore, the financial straits in which the company continually labored restricted all efforts to restore and improve the waterway. Each suspension of business brought a threat of failure, each act of destruction was a major obstacle to continuing operations. As a result of these conditions, the canal incurred many severe setbacks. The most important of these were the physical destruction wrought upon its properties and the prolonged suspensions of trade. The appropriation of facilities and equipment by military authorities also interfered with navigation. Finally, the war created or aggravated many petty hindrances to the operation of the canal, including disloyalty of its officials, inefficiency of its employees, and the draft.

The most immediate consequence of the war for the fortunes of the canal was the destruction of the waterway by the activities of the opposing armies. In 1861 and 1862, Confederate troops sought particularly to prevent the continuation of trade on the canal. To this end they cut its embankment at vital places, tried to blow up some of the dams, and attempted other spot destruction. At the same time they en-

deavored to prevent repairs by harassing canal workers.⁴ In September, 1862, in connection with Lee's first invasion of Maryland, advance Confederate forces halted traffic on the canal by breaching the banks and damaging locks. Later they built roads through the banks to pass the wagon trains. After the invasion had been repulsed, repairs were begun with some government aid, but more raids in October and November hindered their completion.⁵

Lee's second invasion in June and July, 1863, wrought the same type of destruction and again the activities of Confederate pickets delayed repairs after the withdrawal of the main forces.⁶ In both cases the damage was serious, but it seems to have been primarily that necessary to prevent the use of the canal by Federal armies. Perhaps the South still hoped to secure Maryland's allegiance. If so, it probably looked upon the canal in terms of its future value to the Confederacy as a carrier. By 1864, such considerations had apparently disappeared. The raids of Jubal A. Early, John S. Mosby, and Elijah V. White in that year were purely destructive. Boat-burning and mule-stealing now became regular occurrences, while the more permanent and expensive works—the locks and aqueducts—continued to be damaged or destroyed. The raids continued from June into November despite the pleas of canal officials for adequate protection at the

⁴ Baltimore *American*, June 11, 1861; Washington *Evening Star*, June 11 and 14, 1861; A. Spates, President, to W. S. Ringgold, Clerk, June 13, August 13, 1861; A. K. Stake, General Superintendent, to A. Spates, June 26, July 6, 1861; S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; in Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company Records (Department of Interior Archives, National Archives), cited hereinafter as Canal Papers. See also the purported copy of Confederate orders for the destruction of Dam No. 6, dated October 20, 1861, in an anonymous pamphlet, *To the People of Maryland: The Canal and Its Management Vindicated* (n.d.).

⁵ G. Spates, Superintendent, to Ringgold, September 13, October 6, November 26, 1862; J. Masters, Superintendent, to Ringgold, September 22, 1862; A. Spates to Ringgold, October 6, 1862; T. Hassett, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 14, 1862; Canal Papers. See also, Washington *Evening Star*, September 26, 1862. During most of the war the canal was operated through six divisional superintendents, whose reports provide most of the information on the canal activities.

⁶ L. Lowe, Superintendent, to Ringgold, June 20, 1863; G. Spates to President and Directors, June 30, 1863; Masters to Ringgold, July 19, 1863; H. Miller, Collector, to Ringgold, July 22, 1863; A. C. Greene, Director, to Ringgold, July 25, 1863; Masters to President and Directors, August 4, 1863; Canal Papers.

numerous ferries, especially during periods of low water in the river,⁷ and despite the efforts of the *National Intelligencer* to persuade the administration to adopt an effective defense against raids through the Shenandoah gateway.⁸

Much more unfortunate to the company than the physical destruction of its property were the interruptions of trade as a result of the military operations. The suspensions of navigation were most frequent and prolonged in the early years of the war, but they continued to act as a pressing influence in canal affairs through 1864. Traffic was halted in several ways: by the destruction of the waterway, by damage to businesses which supported it, and by the occupation of the canal by the Federal government.

Military activities resulted in the virtual extinction of trade from late April to early August in 1861.⁹ September and October, always the best months for navigation, showed only a slight revival.¹⁰ From a business standpoint the following year, 1862, was on the whole even worse. Although there was no single month as poor as May, June, and July, 1861, not one saw a satisfactory amount of trade.¹¹ So complete was the

⁷ Letters to Ringgold from the following: A. Spates, July 5, 1864; G. Spates, July 16, 1864; Masters, July 18, 1864; Miller, July 18, 1864; L. Benton, Superintendent, July 20, 1864; Lowe, July 25, 1864; Greene, September 2, 1864; and G. Spates, October 16, 1864; Canal Papers. See also, G. Spates to President and Directors, July 25, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; and Masters to President and Directors, October 3, 1864; *ibid.* In all, about sixty boats were burned in Early's raid, and mule-stealing continued into October.

⁸ Washington *National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1864. This is a masterly and devastating summary and criticism of the administration for its lack of an effective Shenandoah policy.

⁹ *33rd Annual Report of the President and Board of Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company* (1861), Appendix C, p. 14; *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix B, p. 9. These reports are hereinafter cited by the short title, as above: *34th Annual Report*. The extent of the decline is shown in the following comparison of tolls received during the summer months of 1860 and 1861:

	1860	1861		1860	1861
May	\$19,214.19	\$657.36	July	\$23,051.10	\$ 16.94
June	\$18,529.60	\$206.27	August	\$28,005.02	\$2,444.07

So complete was the suspension of trade in 1861 that the president reported "comparatively no business on the Canal before September." *34th Annual Report* (1862), p. 3.

¹⁰ The toll receipts for these two months were: September, \$33,086.04 in 1860, and \$10,509.17 in 1861; October, \$32,547.54 in 1860, and \$17,793.22 in 1861. *33rd Annual Report* (1861), Appendix C, p. 14; *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix B, p. 9.

¹¹ *35th Annual Report* (1863), Appendix B, p. 8.

severance of trade that a director of the company and an agent for one of the Cumberland coal companies wrote in exasperation in August that there had been "no real through navigation on the canal this year."¹² The invasion in the fall of that year almost completely negated the traditionally good months of September and October.¹³ The signs of revival in the spring of 1863 were checked abruptly by the second invasion, the effects of which restricted trade in late June, July, and August. In fact, from the middle of June, when the first Confederate troops appeared in Maryland, until early in October, when the last of the raiders returned to Virginia, trade on the canal was constantly harassed and reduced. July was the worst single month for the canal since July, 1861.¹⁴ Again in 1864, Early's raid in July, followed by Mosby's and White's activities in August and September, halted what promised to be one of the best years in the canal's history. By this time, even the threat or rumor of a raid was sufficient to send the boatmen scurrying for shelter. The month of August saw no through navigation at all, making a new low for a single month since July, 1861.¹⁵

A second factor in the depression of the canal trade was the destruction of markets and mills by the war. The mere existence of a state of war reduced the coastwise coal trade which had created some of the peacetime demand for canal coal. The Treasury Department soon stepped in and limited the coastwise shipment of coal to the region north of the mouth of the Delaware River,¹⁶ an area in which the Cumberland coal companies faced severe competition from Pennsylvania coal.¹⁷ The institution of the Potomac blockade by Federal forces on the

¹² Greene to Ringgold, August 11, 1862, Canal Papers.

¹³ *35th Annual Report* (1863), Appendix B, p. 8. Tolls received: September, 1862, \$5,282.48; October, 1862, \$538.78.

¹⁴ *36th Annual Report* (1864), Appendix B, p. 10.

¹⁵ Greene to Ringgold, September 2, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; G. Spates to Ringgold, October 16, 1864; Canal Papers. See also, *Washington Evening Star*, August 22, September 13, 1864, and *37th Annual Report* (1865), Appendix B, p. 10. Tolls in August amounted to only \$398.80.

¹⁶ *Washington National Intelligencer*, April 21, 1862. Two of the better markets for canal coal, South America and the British West Indies, were eliminated by the prohibition as first issued.

¹⁷ Greene to Ringgold, April 7 and 11, 1862, Canal Papers. In the second of these letters, Greene wrote: "In the meantime the Penna. interests are moving heaven and earth

river also handicapped the coastwise trade from Washington.¹⁸ The subsequent easing of both the shipping restrictions and the blockade came none too soon.¹⁹ The irregularity of canal navigation resulted in another severe setback for the canal in the loss of a large part of the local flour trade,²⁰ which had practically carried the canal during its early years before it reached Cumberland and the coal fields. Added to this loss of markets and trade was the loss of individual customers. Two instances may be cited as examples. A large cotton factory in the District of Columbia, a user of water power from the canal, was cut off from its supply of raw materials and forced to shut down in 1861.²¹ Up the line of the canal, near Sharpsburg, a sawmill was alternately occupied by troops and idle through lack of water power from the damaged canal.²²

to maintain themselves in the ground they were enabled to occupy by our disasters last summer." They had reduced charges thirty cents a ton, he continued, and would go further "in order, if possible, to exclude us from market another year, when an attempt to regain it on our part will be almost impossible."

¹⁸ Washington *Evening Star*, May 2, 1861. There was much unemployment among river pilots because of the blockade and the stagnation of trade.

¹⁹ Washington *National Intelligencer*, April 21, 1862. The Treasury Department modified the order to read: "ports north of Cape St. Rogue, South America, and west of that longitude."

²⁰ Charles Embry and Son to H. W. Dellinger, Director, April 26, 1862, Canal Papers. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad had made a determined effort to capture the flour trade in the 1840's. Milton Reitzenstein, *An Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1853* (Baltimore, 1897), 82-83. Notwithstanding these efforts, the flour trade continued to be one of the larger, though erratic, sources of canal revenue. Flour shipments on the canal amounted to 14,880 tons (10½ barrels equals a ton) in 1843; 25,761 tons in 1851; and only 11,087 tons in 1860. During the war they fell to 7,067 tons in 1861; 5,962 tons in 1864; and 5,383 tons in 1865. Despite a slight revival in 1862 and 1863, this trade was no longer an important part of the canal's business. *16th Annual Report* (1844), Appendix 11, p. 46; *24th Annual Report* (1852), Appendix B, p. 26; *33rd Annual Report* (1861), Appendix C, p. 16; *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix B, p. 11; *37th Annual Report* (1865), Appendix B, p. 12; *38th Annual Report* (1866), Appendix C, p. 15.

²¹ J. Pryor Williamson and Company (Pioneer Cotton Factory) to President and Directors, June 20, 1861, Canal Papers. The reasons assigned for the shutdown were: high wages, high prices and scarcity of raw cotton, lack of markets for finished goods, and ruined credit.

²² Jacob Miller to President and Directors, May 1, 1863, Canal Papers. Miller wrote that his mill was occupied by troops in the spring of 1862, and that after their withdrawal the water had been out of the canal from July 1 to July 12, for twelve days in August, and continuously after September 14. During the last-named period of suspension his mill was again occupied by troops, first as a hospital after the battle of Antietam and then as

The occupation of canal property and facilities by troops of both sides was another deterrent to the efforts of the canal to share in the general prosperity of the times. Confederate troops occupied sections of the canal during the summers of 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864. Federal troops moved in early in 1861, and remained for protection and patrol throughout most of the war. The Federal government also appropriated portions of the canal property, including the Rock Creek mole, on which were located many of the docks and warehouses used in the canal trade;²³ the Potomac aqueduct leading to Alexandria; and, from time to time, fleets of canal boats.

Federal authorities seized the Potomac aqueduct in 1861, eventually draining it and converting it into a bridge by the end of that year.²⁴ This was a blow to the canal, for the aqueduct had provided an important outlet for the canal trade. Although Virginia had seceded, Union troops crossed the river in 1861 and occupied Alexandria and the south bank of the Potomac throughout the war. The importance of the aqueduct to the canal company stemmed from the size of the coal boats, which had become too large to pass under the several bridges carrying the streets of Georgetown over the canal.²⁵ These bridges had originally been raised to a level sufficient, it was thought, to allow for all future needs. By 1861, however, the draft and burden of the boats had so increased that they were no longer able to float under the bridges to and from the main basin of the canal at the mouth of Rock Creek. The canal company was unable financially to afford the cost of raising

a rendezvous for pickets. When the soldiers moved out, they left the mill a wreck, taking everything movable with them and destroying what they could not carry off. By that time it was too late in the year to begin operations, even if the repair materials had been available.

²³ The government was still occupying portions of the mole in 1867. Proceedings of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company (MS. in Canal Papers), Journal L, p. 56; hereinafter cited as Proceedings of Directors.

²⁴ Skirmishing occurred at the aqueduct as early as May 2, 1861. On May 24 Federal troops occupied the Virginia shore opposite Washington; by December 5 the bridge over the aqueduct was being built; on December 16 the water was drawn off the aqueduct to permit the erection of the trestling for the bridge; and by December 23 a dam had been placed across the Georgetown entrance of the aqueduct, closing it to the trade on the canal. *Washington Evening Star*, May 2 and 24, December 5, 16, and 23, 1861.

²⁵ Colonel Daniel H. Rucker to General Montgomery C. Meigs, April 25, 1862, Quartermaster General's Records.

the street grades and bridges. Although the government early recognized the need of the project and appropriated \$13,000 toward its accomplishment,²⁶ nothing was done during the war period except to commence the raising of one or two of the bridges.²⁷ The result was that whenever there was any real traffic on the canal, long and costly delays occurred as the boats lined up on the Georgetown level above the aqueduct, awaiting their turn to unload. The longer haul to the coasting vessels in the river and the more frequent handling of the cargo, which was the result of this process, also reduced the value of the coal by subjecting it to greater breakage. The board of directors knew the solution—a set of outlet locks or a series of inclined planes down to the river above the aqueduct—but they were no more able to undertake the expense of installing the locks or planes than they had been to raise the bridges.²⁸

In 1862, during the panic accompanying the specter of the Merrimac running wild on the Potomac and bombarding Washington, the Federal government again intervened and seized about a hundred boats from along the canal.²⁹ While these boats were detained at Georgetown, shippers and company officials complained bitterly about governmental interference and red tape.³⁰ Amid rumors and premature announce-

²⁶ Proceedings of Directors, March 12, 1863, Journal K, p. 325. Action had been pending for almost a year. See Ringgold to Greene, April 16, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 36, Canal Papers.

²⁷ The first contract, to raise one of the bridges west of the market house, was not let until April, 1865. The raising of another bridge was agreed to at the same time. Proceedings of Directors, April 12, 1865, Journal K, p. 422.

²⁸ Canal-shipped coal was always considered to be of inferior value to that shipped by railroad because of the greater breakage from more frequent handling. The twin problems of reducing breakage and handling faced the canal board from the moment the coal fields were reached in 1850. The whole matter is summarized in the testimony of Alfred Spates, in Maryland General Assembly, *Report of the Joint Standing Committee . . . in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Investigation* (Annapolis, 1880), 493-95.

²⁹ J. Wolfe, Collector, to Ringgold, March 10, 1862; Greene to Ringgold, April 11, 1862; Canal Papers. On the panic in the cabinet, see *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1911), I, 61 ff.

³⁰ Greene to Ringgold, April 11, 1862, Canal Papers. Greene, an agent of the Borden Mining Company as well as a director of the canal, wrote that in his opinion nothing "stronger than redtape or indifference" was holding the boats in Georgetown, and that it looked almost like a "conspiracy" between the government and Pennsylvania interests to destroy the coal trade of Maryland in favor of that of its northern neighbor.

ments of their pending release, about half of the boats were loaded with rock and taken down the river to be sunk, if necessary, to block the channel. Some six or eight eventually were sunk, but most of the others were finally returned.³¹ The action of the government deprived the canal, during most of March and April, of a large number of the boats that transported its business.³² In October, 1862, and again in June and July of the following year, the authorities seized more of the boats for briefer periods.³³

In addition to these two major instances of governmental interference, military occupation increased the difficulty of carrying on the business of the canal on many other occasions. Canal property—warehouses, lock houses, and tools—was seized and used. The towpath was damaged by being used as a wagon road. Cavalry patrols also used the towpath, interfering with canal traffic. The authorities prohibited navigation at night and required passes for all boats plying the waterway. From time to time canal workers were forbidden to cross into Virginia to repair the dams. Company officials reported that the soldiers ate everything in sight, making life more difficult for the canallers; and they complained repeatedly of the vandalism of the troops—the destruction of buildings, machinery, and boats.³⁴

³¹ Ringgold to Greene, March 24, April 16, 1862, Letter Book M, pp. 31 and 36; Greene to Ringgold, April 26, 1862; Canal Papers. See also, *Diary of Gideon Welles*, I, 66-67, and War Department Order No. 44, April 21, 1862, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XII, Part 3, p. 97 (Cited hereinafter as *Official Records*).

³² Greene to Ringgold, April 11 and 26, 1862, Canal Papers. Toll receipts for March dropped from \$16,768.25 in 1861 to \$814.91 in 1862; and for April, from \$12,581.01 to \$4,637.00. *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix B, p. 9; *35th Annual Report* (1863), Appendix B, p. 8.

³³ War Department Circular, October 24, 1862, confirming Order No. 44, filed in Letters Received, December, 1863, in Canal Papers. See also, *Washington Evening Star*, July 15, 1863.

³⁴ Stake to A. Spates, June 26 and July 6, 1861; R. Jones, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 5, 1861; Jameson to Ringgold, October 24, 1861; Jones to President and Directors, November 11, 1861; A. Spates to General George B. McClellan, November 24, 1861; Lowe to Ringgold, March 8, 1862; Lowe to A. Spates, March 12, 1862; Greene to Ringgold, August 4, 1862; Stake to President and Directors, November 3, 1862; Miller to Ringgold, November 3, 1862; G. Spates to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; Benton to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; Canal Papers. Complaints listed the seizure and destruction of boats and wheelbarrows, scows and ice breakers, pivot

The financial crisis through which the canal, as a business, struggled during the first three years of the war was an immediate result of its depressed trade. The canal company had always been in a precarious financial condition. Proving much more costly to construct than its planners had been willing to admit or its limited resources had been able to sustain,³⁵ the canal was already heavily burdened with debts of all kinds—loans from the state of Maryland and from private banks, company bonds and currency, acceptances, and back wages.³⁶ Unlike the Erie canal, which had been enlarged by the state of New York at a cost of \$40,000,000, the Chesapeake and Ohio canal had lost its financial supporter. Maryland had long since refused to contribute further to the expenses of the canal, although it continued to interfere in company affairs by a thorough application of the spoils system to its management and operation.³⁷

Faced with reduced revenues and relatively stable expenses,³⁸ the canal company labored through several bleak years with the aid of further loans from the local companies and by partial non-payment of its employees. Certificates of tolls had been issued more or less regularly after the flood of 1857, but receipt of these in exchange for the loans was almost immediately suspended as revenue continued low, and their redemption was only gradually restored in the latter years of the war.³⁹

bridges, fences, house boats, a steam water pump and its building, and coal boats and cargoes. See also, A. Spates to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, April 15, 1862, and March 1, 1865, Quartermaster General's Records.

³⁵ An estimate of slightly over \$8,000,000, made by army engineers in 1825-1826, was rejected by the promoters in favor of a later estimate by Geddes and Roberts of just under \$4,500,000. The canal as finally built cost over \$11,000,000, not including interest.

³⁶ The total indebtedness of the company on May 31, 1861, was \$13,942,615.45. This does not include interest on bonds, unpaid since 1852. In addition, there was \$8,226,593.67 of capital stock outstanding. *33rd Annual Report* (1861), Appendix H, p. 22.

³⁷ There were seven presidents of the company between 1851 and 1862. On six occasions—1852, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, and 1862—there were wholesale revisions of organization and personnel. See note 51, below.

³⁸ Revenues fell from \$191,890.20 in 1860, to \$75,741.90 in 1861, and \$72,624.95 in 1862. *33rd Annual Report* (1861), Appendix B, p. 12; *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix A, p. 7; *35th Annual Report* (1863), Appendix A, p. 6. Costs of maintenance and repairs in normal years averaged about \$100,000, but flood damage and necessary improvements frequently carried the total much higher.

³⁹ *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix G, p. 16. Over \$17,000 of toll certificates were outstanding on May 31, 1865. *37th Annual Report* (1865), Appendix H, p. 20.

Rising costs of living were reflected in the demands of the workers for higher wages. In April, 1864, a general wage increase averaging over ten per cent was finally granted.⁴⁰ Thus it was no surprise that the company had scant funds with which to make needed improvements or to maintain the waterway in good condition.

Gross revenues began to improve in 1863, and by 1864 the net income of the company enabled it to begin paying back debts.⁴¹ There was a tidal wave of requests from long-suffering creditors for payment of overdue notes, back wages, and other obligations. The government also advanced a claim for a two and one-half per cent tax on gross receipts, but the board of directors rejected this charge, insisting that the canal, by its charter, was tax-exempt.⁴² By the middle of 1865, the board was able to boast that it had paid off all debts contracted by it, as well as about \$150,000 of the more recent obligations of its predecessors.⁴³ Although this was a comparatively insignificant part of the total debt of about \$14,000,000, the canal had begun a definite and continued financial improvement.⁴⁴

Petty annoyances during the war hindered the attempts of the canal officials to secure a share of the wartime prosperity for their carrier.

Of \$32,636.15 due for wages in 1860, only \$28,247.06 was currently paid; of \$32,257.65 in 1861, only \$14,701.82; and of \$28,537.37 in 1862, only \$18,285.91. *33rd Annual Report* (1861), Appendix B, p. 12, and Appendix D, p. 17; *34th Annual Report* (1862), Appendix A, p. 7, and Appendix C, p. 12; *35th Annual Report* (1863), Appendix A, p. 6, and Appendix C, p. 11. See also, Proceedings of Directors, October 1, 1861, Journal K, p. 258.

⁴⁰ Petition to President and Directors, April, 1863; G. Spates to President and Directors, March 31, 1864; Canal Papers. Also, Proceedings of Directors, April 15, 1864, Journal K, p. 383.

⁴¹ Revenues rose to \$163,024.10 in 1863; \$234,699.30 in 1864; and \$359,734.56 in 1865. Expenditures remained near the \$100,000 average until 1865, when the undertaking of permanent repairs and the resumption of work on improvements raised current expenses to \$161,171.79. *36th Annual Report* (1864), Appendix A, p. 7, and Appendix C, p. 13; *37th Annual Report* (1865), Appendix A, p. 8, and Appendix C, p. 13; *38th Annual Report* (1866), Appendix B, p. 12, and Appendix D, p. 17.

⁴² R. B. Ferguson, Internal Revenue Assessor, to Ringgold, August 27, 1864, Canal Papers.

⁴³ A. Spates to Speaker of Maryland House of Delegates, March 13, 1865, Letter Book M, p. 176, Canal Papers.

⁴⁴ In only one year between 1865 and 1875 did the net income of the company fall below \$100,000. For five of those years it was over \$200,000. *49th Annual Report* (1877), p. 6.

It is in this light that the otherwise unimportant and often amusing incidents deserve notice. In this category may be included such widely differing matters as the disloyalty of canal officials, the draft, the discovery of gold on the canal, inefficiency of the employees, politics, floods, and droughts.

Disloyalty among the personnel of the canal was an ogre which continued to harass the board of directors. As early as January 1, 1861, a director and former president of the company, L. J. Brengle, wrote sympathetically of the divided sentiment in Frederick, Maryland.⁴⁵ Apparently he was more discreet in the expression of his sentiments than was the wartime president of the company, Alfred Spates, who was thrice arrested and detained by military authorities for disloyal activities.⁴⁶ An engineer engaged in the construction of a new masonry dam on the canal was also imprisoned briefly in 1863 for the same reason. In 1862 and 1863 there were several complaints of disloyalty against George Spates, a superintendent on the Monocacy division and against some of the men under him.⁴⁷

The effects of the draft were greatly feared. The first announcement of it elicited a letter from the company requesting blanket deferment for canal workers. In operation, however, there was little or no hardship. Two of the employees who were eventually drafted borrowed money and paid for substitutes, and then petitioned the company for payment of back wages. In another case, in which no substitute could be obtained, the lock keeper's family carried on for him.⁴⁸

The discovery of gold at Great Falls on the canal by California troops stationed there for its protection caused a momentary flurry.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ L. J. Brengle to Ringgold, January 1, 1861, Canal Papers.

⁴⁶ Baltimore *American*, September 3, 1863, and January 25, 1864; Fred Fickey, Jr. to Ringgold, September 1 and 3, 1863; Brengle to ———, September 15, 1863; Greene to Ringgold, January 25, 1864; Canal Papers.

⁴⁷ R. C. Bomford to Directors, August 28, 1862; Brengle to ———, September 15, 1863; Stake to Brengle, September 17, 1863; Canal Papers. See also, Washington *Evening Star*, September 2, 1863, and Proceedings of Directors, December 17, 1863, Journal K, p. 361.

⁴⁸ Ringgold to Stanton, August 21, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 56; J. G. White to Board of Directors, April 10, 1863; G. Spates to Directors, October 30, 1864; Canal Papers.

⁴⁹ Although there is no mention of the discovery of gold in company records or in the newspapers, it is a commonly accepted fact and is recognized in government correspond-

The large number of soldiers quartered along the line also brought problems of health to plague the officials, and closely related to these was a complaint from a lock keeper on the Monocacy division of the stench caused by the embalming of dead bodies in one of the company houses near-by.⁵⁰

Passing to the secondary effects of the war on canal affairs, the inefficiency of the canal employees was perhaps the most obvious hindrance to an improvement in company fortunes. The application of the principle of rotation in office to the direction of the canal was the accepted practice in Maryland politics, with the result that there was a large turnover of superintendents, lock keepers, collectors, and bosses approximately every two years.⁵¹ Although this process stopped momentarily in 1862, the new appointees were not particularly attentive to their duties, according to the testimony of canal officials as well as others.⁵² In the critical condition of the company in the early war years the incompetence or indifference of these employees took on increased significance. Meanwhile, although somewhat restricted in operation, politics apparently continued as usual in canal affairs.⁵³

Nature also contributed to the problems of the directors. During the summer the threat of low water resulting from drought was always a great concern, both for its effect on trade and for the increased danger of raids across the river.⁵⁴ Freshets did much damage to the banks and towpath in the spring and fall of each year, especially in 1861 and

ence. See E. B. Swanson to A. B. Cammerer, October 26, 1938, in National Capital Parks, File 1460 (Chesapeake and Ohio Canal), in Department of Interior.

⁵⁰ S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; G. Spates to President and Directors, November 20, 1864; Canal Papers; Baltimore *American*, June 8, 1861; Washington *Evening Star*, October 28, 1861.

⁵¹ There were large shifts in personnel on July 15, 1852; June 30, 1855; June 27, 1856; March 31, April 15 and 16, 1858; May 6 and June 2, 1860; and February 12, 1862. Proceedings of Directors, Journal H, pp. 537-40; Journal I, pp. 180-81, 278-82; Journal K, pp. 6-19, 183-84, 192-93, 273-75.

⁵² Ringgold to Greene, August 8, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 56; Greene to Ringgold, August 11 and 12, 1862; Bomford to Directors, August 28, 1862; Chambers to Directors, December 10, 1862; Hassett to President and Directors, May 4, 1863; Canal Papers.

⁵³ B. B. Bootman to Directors, April 4, 1862; A. Spates to Ringgold, May 12, 1863; Canal Papers. Spates wrote that no meeting of the Board of Public Works was to be held in order that a reorganization might be avoided for another year.

⁵⁴ Greene to Ringgold, August 6, 1862, September 2, 1863, Canal Papers.

1862.⁵⁵ Fortunately, however, there were no disastrous floods to tax the resources of the company throughout the whole period.

The story of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal during the Civil War does have its brighter side—all but lost amid the tribulations of the company. Between raids and repairs the canal did yeoman service for the government, hauling troops and supplies—particularly coal, which was so jealously hoarded during the war.⁵⁶ The canal was the sole direct link between Washington and Harper's Ferry for the transportation of men and munitions to that important post, as well as to other points in the Potomac Valley.⁵⁷ This function it performed throughout the war. Only late in the conflict did the administration begin to realize the importance of Harper's Ferry and the whole Shenandoah Valley, and only then did the weakness of the link provided by the canal become apparent. Eventually, however, the metropolitan branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, begun shortly after the war and running parallel to the canal from Washington to the main line at Point of Rocks, filled this need for better communication between the capital and the upper Potomac.⁵⁸

The canal, together with the river, was a natural defense line for the Union troops, and it was so used during most of the war. It also provided the government with an organization and a line of communication along the boundary between the North and the South. The Treasury Department took advantage of this opportunity by appointing

⁵⁵ *Baltimore American*, April 16, 19, June 11, 1861; *Washington Evening Star*, April 17, 1861; Embry and Son to Dellinger, April 26, 1862 (reporting seventh high water in seventeen months); Greene to Ringgold, April 29, 1862; Masters to Ringgold, April 13, 1864; Canal Papers.

⁵⁶ *Baltimore American*, May 27 and 30, 1861; *Washington National Intelligencer*, March 10, 1862; *Washington Evening Star*, September 12, 1862.

⁵⁷ Masters to A. Spates, March 5, 1862; Ringgold to Greene, April 16, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 36; Ringgold to A. Spates, October 2, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 58; Hollingsworth, Collector, to President and Directors, January 14, 1863; Canal Papers. See also, *Washington Evening Star*, July 15, 1863, and George B. McClellan to Henry W. Halleck, September 22, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, Part 2, p. 343.

⁵⁸ Hungerford, *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, II, 71-72. The mayor of Washington made great efforts to have the branch constructed during the early 1860's. By 1866, the route of the branch had been selected and submitted to the canal company for approval. Proceedings of Directors, February 8, 1866, Journal K, p. 477.

six of the canal employees along the line as revenue agents.⁵⁹ After the battle zone moved south from the Potomac River, trade on the canal began to improve. Gross revenues increased rapidly as the fortunes of the company rose. Financially, prosperity came to the canal in direct proportion to the success of northern arms. The battle of Gettysburg ushered in a decade of great profits unique in the history of the company.⁶⁰

Thus a review of the war experiences of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company indicates a continuation of the ups and downs which had characterized the history of the waterway before 1860. The immediate effects were almost all bad. The loss of trade in the early years, the physical destruction, the financial crisis, and the notoriety associated with the activities of its president were serious obstacles to the progress of the canal. In addition there were many lesser problems to vex the board of directors. The only direct advantage derived from the war was the large demand for coal. Yet the company had to wait over two years before its carrier was sufficiently clear of the battle zone to permit long periods of uninterrupted navigation.

In the long run, the war both encouraged and discouraged hopes for improved business prospects. Financially, 1863 marks a definite turning point in canal affairs. Profits rose sharply to levels well above the few good prewar years. For a decade after the war, the net income of the company measurably improved with a regularity hitherto unknown to the disaster-ridden canal. It should be noted, however, that during the war years a good part of the increased profits can be accounted for by the neglect of the physical condition of the canal—slipshod repairs and the omission of needed improvements—and by the doubling of the toll rate during the inflation of the period, rather than by a marked increase in trade.

In other ways, equally as important, the war record is not so bright. Markets were affected differently. The old and lucrative flour trade,

⁵⁹ A. Spates to Ringgold, December 1, 1862, Canal Papers; Proceedings of Directors, December 11, 1862, Journal K, p. 315.

⁶⁰ *49th Annual Report* (1877), p. 6. Annual profits increased to four and sometimes five times those of the best prewar years.

already passing to the railroad in 1860, was finally and definitely lost as a result of the unreliability of canal navigation during the war. The coal trade, on the other hand, held up well, improving steadily toward the end. By 1865 it had become, for all practical purposes, the sole support of the canal company. As such, it came to bear a great weight in canal affairs. When technological improvements later enabled the railroad to compete more successfully for the trade, the coal companies forced toll reductions which deprived the canal of its profits before the trade was lost. Lastly, the physical condition of the waterway deteriorated markedly during the Civil War. Years passed before the banks, locks, and aqueducts were properly repaired and the channel restored to its original dimensions. A longer period was required for the rebuilt sections of the banks to settle and harden to prewar strength. As a result of the suspension of improvements, the canal was becoming outmoded and incapable of meeting the demands of an enlarged business. The channel had filled so that the larger, more economical boats frequently grounded. The old brush and rubble dams leaked badly, reducing further the water level. Locks were neither doubled nor enlarged to allow for the growing size of the boats. Terminal facilities, basins, and wharves were neglected. The company sacrificed the future for the pressing obligations of the present. When improvements became unavoidable, the company found itself without the tremendous sums required. Its halcyon days were past. At best, the prosperity of the war period merely arrested the inevitable. At worst, the war indirectly hastened the end, while causing much incidental anguish for its officers and friends.

William Byrd's Opposition to Governor Francis Nicholson

BY LOUIS B. WRIGHT

The ruling class in Virginia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were staunch advocates of royal government as opposed to proprietary rule, and the official correspondence of the day is filled with their descriptions of the shortcomings of the proprietors of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. But the great planters' adherence to the principle of royal government did not make them supine before the representatives of the king. The governors of Virginia faced the insoluble dilemma of asserting the sovereign's prerogative and offending the independent and sometimes arrogant planters, or surrendering to the interest of the Virginians and displeasing the home government. Moreover, among the planters themselves there were factions that had to be placated. Few governors, therefore, had the skill to walk this tight rope successfully.

Among the shrewdest and most powerful planters of the period were the two William Byrds, father and son. Their relations with the royal governors are indicative of the tangled web of Virginia politics. Sometimes the Byrds were on the side of the governors, defending their measures; more often they violently opposed the assertion of royal prerogative. Their activities were not always free from self-interest, for, like other members of the ruling class, they were not above using their positions for personal profit.¹

¹ More detailed information about the Byrds' activities is to be found in the introductory essay, "The Byrd Family in Virginia," in John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd* (New York, 1901), ix-lxxxvii; and in Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* (San Marino, Calif., 1940), 312-47.

A manuscript notebook in the Huntington Library in the handwriting of William Byrd II² throws light on the Byrds' relations with Governor Edmund Andros and Governor Francis Nicholson. In this notebook, Byrd copied drafts of papers which he presented, or intended to present, before the Board of Trade in London or other English authorities. One of the documents is a statement *in extenso* of Byrd's defense of Governor Andros at a hearing before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London at Lambeth in December, 1697. James Blair, commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia, was determined to get rid of Andros and procure the appointment of Francis Nicholson, then serving as governor of Maryland. Byrd, who represented a group of planters opposed to the irascible Scotch churchman, undertook to defend Andros, less for love of the governor than for hatred of Blair. At the end of that plea, Byrd prophesied that if Blair succeeded in worming Andros out of office, he would try to replace him with Nicholson, in the belief that he would "be able to lead that worthy Gentleman by the nose as much as he pleases. But if he [Nicholson] should prove restiff, I expect he [Blair] will blacken him as much as he has done Sir Edmond Andros."

Despite Byrd's efforts in Andros' behalf, that governor was recalled and Nicholson succeeded him on July 20, 1698. Nicholson was the nearest approach to a professional colonial administrator that this era

² The notebook came to the Huntington Library in the collection made by the late Robert A. Brock and is designated as BR 744. It consists of 46 leaves, closely written, and revised and corrected by Byrd himself. The book is small, measuring five and three-quarters by three and one-half inches. It is without covers and some of the preliminary leaves and perhaps some of the leaves at the end have been lost.

Besides the documents discussed in the present essay, the notebook contains drafts of papers submitted in a petition to the king concerning a slave ship owned by William Byrd I, which had been seized by the French; a brief representation concerning inefficiency in the conduct of the office of Secretary of State of Virginia; a copy of the Board of Trade's recommendation to the king of three names from whom a successor to Secretary Ralph Wormeley would be chosen; Byrd's defense of Andros; a representation concerning proprietary governments; and a proposal to the Board of Trade for sending French Huguenots to Virginia. The last two of these documents will appear as an appendix to Louis B. Wright (ed.), *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America* (1701), soon to be published by the Huntington Library.

Quotations from the notebook, cited in this paper, have been transcribed literally except that superior letters have been reduced and contractions expanded. A few changes in punctuation and capitalization have been made to prevent misreading.

produced.³ In addition to serving as governor of Maryland, he had been lieutenant governor of the Dominion of New England but had returned to England after the Revolution of 1688. Already, from 1690 to 1692, he had held the lieutenant-governorship of Virginia. Much later, in 1720, he went to South Carolina as governor and served in other official capacities in the colonies. For nearly seven years, from 1698 to 1705, he represented the king in Virginia and engaged in an almost continuous fight with the great planters. William Byrd II proved one of his most persistent opponents, and the Huntington notebook contains a few of Byrd's arguments against him. As Byrd had predicted, Blair turned against Nicholson and was instrumental in obtaining his recall.

Nicholson had a larger view of colonial affairs than most royal governors. The fact that he had served in various colonies gave him a perspective less narrow than most. Furthermore, he was a stout imperialist eager to strengthen England's position on the American continent and to thwart the French. His state papers show a vast concern over the French influence in the Mississippi Valley and the danger to the whole northwestern frontier from the French in Canada. Like most Englishmen, in the colonies and at home, he realized that the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 would not procure a lasting peace. Since a new war with France was inevitable, he insisted that Virginia realize its continental obligation by sending aid of both money and troops to New York, which was constantly threatened by the French-inspired Indians of the Five Nations.

The problem of aid to New York during the various Indian and French conflicts was an old question which constantly irritated Virginians. With an isolationist spirit characteristic of all the colonies, they argued that New York's woes were not Virginia's sorrow, and such support as the king's representatives could wring from them was given grudgingly.

In 1701, with war over the Spanish succession clearly inevitable, the

³ See the sketch of Nicholson in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), XIII, 499-501.

authorities in England instructed the colonies to make preparations for defense. Governor Nicholson transmitted to the House of Burgesses an order from the crown to furnish monetary assistance to New York and to send men if that colony should be attacked. Nicholson fixed £900 as the proper amount of pecuniary aid and demanded that the House draft legislation to put the colony on a war footing. Instead, the House, with the Council concurring, voted to send an address to the king explaining the impossibility of appropriating that amount and the danger in attempting to raise troops for service outside Virginia.⁴ Since William Byrd was already in London, he was appointed colonial agent to lay the matter before the Board of Trade and carry the address to the king. The Burgesses and the Council set to work drafting a proper address, and William Byrd I, a member of the Council, was instructed to communicate the wishes of Virginia to his son.

Meanwhile Nicholson, who was incensed at the failure of the House of Burgesses and the Council to carry out his wishes, announced that he would not authorize the payment to Byrd of expenses and a fee for his services as agent. He also dispatched Dionysius Wright, whom he described as a loyal "old Englishman," familiar with the humors of Virginia from thirty years of residence there, to counteract any favorable impression that Byrd might make. "I humbly propose that no encouragement be given to the Council and Burgesses their address to his Majesty, nor to their Agent in this Affair," Nicholson wrote the Board of Trade on December 2, 1701. "One of the great misfortunes that this Country lives under at present," he observed, "is that the Assembly cannot or will not be made sensible of the necessity of assisting his Majesty's Province of New York with money or men, or that they are in danger of being attacked by the French, either by sea or land; for the Country consists now most of Natives, few of which either have read much or been abroad in the world: so that they cannot

⁴ Henry R. McIlwaine (ed.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1695 . . . 1702* (Richmond, 1913), 313-16, which reprints the address to the king. A succinct account of the controversy over aid to New York is given in the introduction to this volume, pp. xxxvii-xliv.

form to themselves any Idea or Notion of those things (tho' in point of Trade and of Plantation Affairs they are generally very knowing)."⁵

Nicholson underestimated the perspicacity of Virginians. Although they were not as acutely aware of an obligation to fight on the New York frontier as Nicholson wished, their attitude was determined more by fear of increasing the prerogatives of the royal governor through the granting of military power than by any ignorance of the implications of a war with France. Naturally in their address to the king they had to disguise this concern and emphasize other plausible excuses.

The elaborate address prepared by the House of Burgesses was not presented by their agent to King William, as intended, for the king died in March, 1702. Byrd then drew up a petition to Queen Anne, praying that he might present the address to her. This brief petition of one page, which Byrd copied in his notebook, pleads for permission to represent to Her Majesty the circumstances of the colony, whose poverty makes it unable to raise £900 for the assistance of New York. Byrd was not granted an audience with the queen. Instead, his petition and the address of the House of Burgesses were read by the Privy Council and referred to the Board of Trade. The Privy Council, on May 21, 1702, also took occasion to advise the queen that "it would prove of very ill consequence in the Government of your Majesty's Plantations if countenance should be given to this manner of Application." Communications addressed to the sovereign, unless complaints of a governor's maladministration, should be transmitted through the governor and not through an agent appointed by the people. The Privy Council therefore suggested that the queen write "Royall Letters to the Governor of Virginia, taking Notice of the Irregularity of this proceeding, and againe recommending what has been already proposed for an Assistance" to New York, "which Letters the Governor may be Ordered (as formerly) to lay before the Councill and Assembly, and use his best perswasions to encline them to a Voluntary Compliance."⁶

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1701*, No. 1040, p. 631.

⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council of England. Colonial Series, Vol. II, 1680-1720*, No. 886, pp. 402-404.

Byrd prepared and presented to the Board of Trade a brief statement which summarized points in the address of the House of Burgesses intended for the sovereign. In the margin of the notebook is written, "This was presented anno 1702." Addressed "To the Right Honorable the Lords of the Council of Trade and Plantations," the memorial follows:

Tis a very great affliction to the People of Virginia that they were not in Condition to obey the Commands of his late Majesty King William in favour of New York, and because they may not seem to have been guilty of disobedience, they Beg leave to remonstrate their case, and to show reasons why they cou'd not transport any number of men to so great a distance as New York.

1. Because the sending of men to New York wou'd be a very great loss to Her Majesty in her Customes, for by Common Computation every able man (and such onely must be sent to New York,) by his annual Labour makes as much Tobacco as pays 20 pounds Custome and Consequently the absence of 240 men which is the Quota desird of them, would prove 4800 pounds yearly Disadvantage to the Crown, and this loss woud not onely be singly for one year, but woud be for ever in respect of those, which either by sickness or Desertion should never return again.

2. Such a Draught of men sent out of Virginia woud be a great weakening of it, in Case of an invasion either by Sea or Land, to both which they are wholly exposed, insomuch that there being no fortification their onely strength to oppose an Enemy, must Consist in the few men they have fitt to bear arms, out of which 240 can't be Detacht, without too great a diminution of the power of that Country.

3. This kind of Transportation would prove so great a Bug-bear in Virginia, it being a proceeding intirely new to the People, to be forc't from their Country, from their familys, from their business, to be sent to so Distant a province as New York, that it would prove a general dissatisfaction; and those that should be sent away woud desert by the first opportunity, and disperse themselves into Pensilvania and the other Propriety Governments.

Despite Byrd's efforts, the Board of Trade, like the Privy Council, supported Nicholson's policy and took a cold view of the efforts of Virginians to circumvent their governor. The problem of Virginia's share in the colonial wars continued to vex Nicholson and succeeding governors.

If Byrd's protest against aid to New York was his most conspicu-

ous opposition to Nicholson, it was not the first time he had complained to the Board of Trade about the governor. The notebook reveals that the Byrds had previously aired personal as well as public grievances against Nicholson. That official had no cause to love the Byrds when he came into office, for they had taken the part of Governor Andros when Commissary James Blair was scheming to put Nicholson in his place. The new governor, therefore, was not averse to measures designed to humble them. As auditor and receiver-general of customs for Virginia, William Byrd I had advanced money out of his own pocket to meet Virginia's expenses during the war prior to the treaty of Ryswick, when shipping and custom duties were light. He believed that he would be reimbursed from the quit-rents due the crown. Nicholson showed no concern over the loan and let Byrd know that he could get his money when and as the duty on tobacco was collected—a matter of several years.

In a complaint to the Board of Trade, which young Byrd copied in his notebook, he outlined his father's patriotic reasons for advancing the money and concluded that "Twou'd be excessive hard that People here should be counted loyall Subjects, that will credit the government for the advantage of 8 per cent, and that there, under the same Prince, a Zealous Subject shoud advance mony for the service of his Country, and be so long before he can recover the naked Principall. Such Generous Instances of love of ones Country are too seldom found, not to be exceedingly discouraged by such severitys." Despite Nicholson's indifference, the Board of Trade ordered Byrd's reimbursement out of the quit-rents and the notebook records that fact.

Of more serious consequence to the Byrds was Nicholson's effort to split the post of auditor and receiver-general into two offices. In a report to the Board of Trade on July 1, 1699, the governor recommended the division.⁷ Byrd at once filed a protest, a copy of which he preserved in his notebook. Though it might seem inconsistent for one and the same person to be both auditor and receiver-general, he

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1699*, No. 579, pp. 309-310.

maintained, actually "it will appear that the two Branches therof are not so incompatible as is represented." And he added:

The Auditor of Virginia is to examine and adjust the accounts of the Severall Collectors of that Country, who make their Payments in Bills of Exchange Drawn upon Merchants liveing in England. And nobody in Virginia being thought more responsable than the Auditor, he has ever been intrusted with the remittance of them. But this Trust of negociateing the Bills, do's not any ways put it into the Power of the auditor to commit any misapplication of the Revenue. For when he has made up his accounts, which must be justfyd by the Proper Vouchers of each Collector, they are laid before the Governor and Council. And after that, they are yearly transmitted to the Auditor General of the Plantations, by whome they undergo another Scrutiny. So that it dos no ways import the safty of the Revenue, whether the auditor or any other Person negotiate the Bills, since all his accounts are to pass a Twofold Examination. But since the Auditor may do this with as little Danger and inconvenience as any other, and since he has all along Discharg'd that Trust without the least Imputation, I hope your Lordships will see no reason, why his Place shou'd be Dismembered. If the Person that Sues for this Partition woud give himself the trouble to alledge any Reason, besides this nominal inconsistency. If he cou'd impute any mismanagement to the Present Auditor, If he cou'd demonstrate any Hazard the Revenue is like to run, under the present administration, I shoud have too much Regard to his Majesty's Service, to appear against any Proposal to redress such Mischiefs. But since this parting of the Auditors Place woud have no other Effect, but the erecting of a new office (which perhaps the Informer may hope for) and the injuring a Person that has given Continual Proofs of his zeal for his Majesty's Interest, and of his fidelity in the Dutyfull Discharge of his Office, I humbly beg that your Lordships will please to Continue things as they are, till better arguments shall be offer'd for their Reformation.

The Byrds managed to stave off the division of the office for the time being, but Nicholson did not abandon his plan. When the elder William Byrd died in 1704, his son received an appointment to succeed him, but in 1705 the office of auditor and receiver-general was finally separated, and young Byrd was left with only the post of receiver.⁸

Another of Byrd's early attacks on Nicholson is recorded in the notebook in an undated fragment of a memorial protesting against the governor's efforts to prevent the planting of flax and cotton in the tobacco colonies.

⁸ Bassett (ed.), *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, xlix.

Among the many reasons for Nicholson's unpopularity was his increasing preoccupation with the enforcement of the navigation acts and his insistence on more stringent laws to restrain the colonies from producing commodities unprofitable to the English trade. Mercantilism had no more earnest advocate than Nicholson. During his governorship of Maryland, just prior to his second administration in Virginia, his official correspondence was filled with suggestions for improving the acts of trade. During the years 1696 and 1697, he was much concerned over the tendency of planters in Maryland and Virginia to diversify their tobacco crops with flax and cotton. The scarcity of shipping in those years—and the high price of textiles—had forced colonials to take thought for their future clothing. With the prospect that the growing of flax and cotton would curtail the production of tobacco, and that home manufacture of textiles would reduce the demand for English clothing, Nicholson advised the Board of Trade to suppress the planting of flax and cotton.⁹

Byrd declared in his protest to the Board of Trade that enforcement of a law against the production of clothing would force colonials to become Adamites and go naked. The memorial is bitter and sarcastic and reflects the same tone which Byrd's brother-in-law, Robert Beverley, employed in his indictment of Nicholson in *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705).¹⁰ The introduction and part of the first section of the memorial are missing, but the remaining portion follows:

miscarriage of ships, or else their poverty is so great they cant purchase 'em, without pawning their Labour for severall years to Come; nay some of the poor Planters are already so involvd in debt for necessarys for their Familys that the Slavery of their whole life will never pay it. Thus if they must have their Raiment nowhere but from England, many must be Adamites and go naked the remaining part of their lives, for no body will give 'em Credit any farther, unless this charitable Gentleman will please to do it.

2. If they shou'd be prohibited from supplying their hard necessitys by

⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1696-97*, No. 856, p. 412; No. 1178, pp. 546-51.

¹⁰ Edition of 1705, Bk. I, Sects. 145-155. Beverley also remarked that Nicholson's proposal for suppressing the production of clothing was "desiring a charitable Law that the Planters shall go naked."

planting flax and Cotton etc. then, they must go all hands upon Tobacco, which will occasion such a glut to the market, as will ruin the Country for tis well known, that in the years 1691-1692, 1693, before the Planters betook themselves so much to planting of Cotton, the market was so miserably low, as not to clear the Customes, freight and other necessary Charges on severall 1000 hogs-heads of Tobacco, which made the people incapable of purchaseing Cloathes from England and so put 'em upon seeking those ways of covering their nakedness by Cotton and flax at home. So that tis plain nothing but meer necessity brings them to do this and therefore to restrain people, from what nature and necessity Commands, is against all the laws of God and humanity; such an act then as this Gentleman proposes would be utterly inconsistent with the Justice and Indulgence of the English Government.

3. If they shou'd therefore be oblig'd to expect Cloaths from England, the consequence wou'd be, they must be oblig'd to wear no Cloaths at all; for what merchant will send over Cloathing, when he knows the people incapable, by reason of their poverty to buy them. And if they were able to purchase 'em, they must be forc'd to take up with what the merchant pleases, and at what exorbitant Rate he pleases, without the naturall liberty of supplying himself by his honest Labour an other way; which will be a Bondage worse than ever was known in Egypt or Algiers, and not sutable to the naturall liberty of English men, and the gracious Laws we are govern'd by, which allows every one to emprove his own Land towards the supply of those necessitys which nature and Humanity require; and certainly Clothing to protect people from the Inclemencys of the weather, is as much a naturall necessity, as meat and drink, Wherefore an act of Parliament may as reasonably be propos'd to prohibit the Planters from sowing of Corne, and so oblige 'em to starve outright, as to restrain 'em from providing such necessary Raiment as may keep 'em from starving in as cruel a manner by the unmercifullness of the Wether.

4. The Laying such heavy Restraints upon His majestys subjects there [?], must inevitably breed discontents amongst them, and make 'em think themselves very hardly treated, beyond the moderate and easy Burdens their fellow subjects bear, and must necessarily a Little deface the naturall affection they universally have for their Mother Country, especially since their near Relation and utility to England, give 'em some reason to Claim the privilege of English men, and Consequently a fredome from Bondage, which must certainly follow upon the passing so severe an act of Parliament.

These are the reasons I humbly offer to Your Lordships, why I think planting of Cotton and Flax in Compassion ought to be permitted in the Plantations of Virginia and Maryland in the Time of their Distress. for tis nearly the nakedness of the people, that obliges 'em to it, sorely against their Inclination, which wou'd be wholly to Tobacco so long as they can get any thing for it. It was upon due Reflection on these Reasons, and in Commiseration of the miserys and Com-

plaints of the Inhabitants, that the Governor, auditor and some of the Council have not discountenanc'd this matter, especially since tis no manner of Prejudice to his majestys Interest: for the encrease of the Quantity of Tobacco, will so spoill the market, that the losses accruing to the Planters thereby will discourage him from planting any more, and Consequently the King in the Upshot will be looser by the bargain; while on the contrary, now there is no such excessive glut, the Kings Customes are vastly Considerable, and if the Planter get a penny, he lays it out most certainly in English manufactures, which he could not do, if the market was lower; for then he'd get nothing to purchase English Goods withall. and give the planter but leave to get so much as will provide him Cloaths from hence, and he will Certainly not give himself the trouble, to make 'em at home, for they are there too much favourers of Idleness, not to prefer the easiest way of supplying their necessities.

The other parts of the memoriall I have nothing to offer against, as being more fit to be consider'd by those whose Business and Concerns have made 'em more Compitent Judges therein. But as to so much of it as relates to the planting of Cotton and Flax, I Humbly Conceive with submission to Your Lordships, that Colonel Nicholson has mistaken the matter, and been more Zealous than truly discerning, for his Majestys Interest.

The Board of Trade had the good sense not to follow Nicholson's suggestion for the suppression of cotton and flax. Whether Byrd's memorial influenced them in that decision, we shall never know. In any case the Board's forbearance was wise, for the price of tobacco went up after the treaty of Ryswick, shipping increased, and enthusiasm for planting anything except tobacco waned.¹¹ Without official interference, the Virginians themselves refused to give up the one-crop system and had only themselves to blame for consequent economic ills. Robert Beverley gloomily complained of the shiftlessness of his countrymen and their dependence upon England for every processed commodity. "They have their Cloathing of all sorts from England, as Linnen, Woollen, Silk, Hats, and Leather. Yet Flax and Hemp grow nowhere in the World better than there; their Sheep yield a mighty Increase, and bear good Fleeces, but they shear them only to cool them." Abundant mulberry trees provide food for silkworms, hides for leather

¹¹ For a discussion of the efforts of Virginians themselves to stimulate the production of textiles, and of the shifting attitude of the government toward this activity, see Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907), I, 246, 260, 466; II, 456-58, 465.

are thrown away, and furs go from Virginia to England to come back as hats. "Nay," he concludes, "they are such abominable Ill-husbands that tho' their Country be over-run with Wood, yet they have all their Wooden Ware from England . . . to the Eternal Reproach of their Laziness."¹² From Beverley's comment, it is clear that Governor Nicholson, without loss to the commerce of England, might have preserved a little of his popularity by being less zealous for acts of trade to curb the production of clothing.

Aside from their personal implications, Byrd's memorials against Nicholson are indicative of the growing distaste of Virginians for the arbitrary assertion of the royal prerogative. As Nicholson himself saw plainly, Virginians were increasingly disposed to demand the same rights that Englishmen at home enjoyed. Beverley charged that the governor had expressed a desire to hang independent and recalcitrant Virginians "with Magna Charta about their necks"; furthermore, Nicholson had advised the home government that "now or never is the only Time to maintain the Queen's Prerogative, and put a Stop to those wrong pernicious Notions, which are improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all Her Majesty's other Governments. A Frown now from Her Majesty will do more than an Army hereafter."¹³ Byrd's little notebook is one of the many documents illustrative of the early struggle of colonials for the rights which Magna Charta had guaranteed.

¹² Beverley, *History* (1705), Bk. IV, Sect. 76.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, Sects. 149-155.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association

BY DANIEL M. ROBISON

When the Executive Council decided to resume the annual meetings of the Southern Historical Association, after a lapse of two years, there were doubts in the minds of some of its members as to the advisability of taking such action at this time. Travel conditions and hotel facilities were still far from normal. Many members of the Association were in active military service, and those who were not carried heavier academic loads, to say nothing of their other activities in the war effort. Could those be found who would take on the additional burden of preparing suitable papers for the program? On the other hand there was the danger that interest in the Association might decline if meetings were postponed too long. Besides, many members were anxious to resume the pleasant and stimulating associations that had marked the annual meetings in the past.

Results fully demonstrated the wisdom of the Council in calling the meeting held in Nashville on November 3 and 4. It is true that the total registration (114) was much below the high mark reached in 1940 at Charleston (279), yet there was a general disposition to look upon this year's attendance as satisfactory under existing conditions. The papers read at the various sessions measured up to the standards set at previous meetings, and the lively informal discussions from the floor in each session more than justified the decision of the program committee to provide an opportunity for the audience to participate. The hospitalities extended by the Nashville hotels as well as by George Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University, and the Tennes-

see Historical Society, not so elaborate perhaps as in more peaceful days, were adequate for the times. Members came from all the southern states as well as from several states outside the South. All sessions were attended by a number of interested citizens of Nashville and vicinity who had no formal connection with the Association. The entire two-day period was permeated by a spirit of enthusiasm and seriousness which left no room for doubt concerning the vitality of the Association on the tenth anniversary of its founding.

The first session, with Ella Lonn of Goucher College presiding, was held on Friday morning in the Assembly Hall of the Hermitage Hotel. It consisted of two formal papers and discussion on the general subject of "The Confederacy." The first paper, by James W. Silver of the University of Mississippi, was on "Propaganda in the Confederacy." Declaring that the deterioration of morale among the southern people after Gettysburg and Vicksburg was an important factor in the collapse of the Confederacy, Professor Silver proceeded to examine the efforts to influence public opinion and to sustain morale within the seceded states. Propaganda pressure from the central government, he pointed out, consisted of the hit-or-miss efforts of vigilant individuals rather than a planned program of government surveillance over public opinion. Strenuous local activity at times approached state socialism, but suffered from official mishandling and the lack of central direction. Oratory, proclamations, and pamphleteering were only temporarily effective. The church and the school, probably the two best media for reaching the plain people, were not exploited to their fullest extent. A patriotic but uncontrolled press undoubtedly contributed greatly to the maintenance of morale, but its influence was lessened because of intense political and personal feuds. The means for an aggressive, well organized, and sustained attack on popular opinion, seemingly unnecessary in 1861, were not present in the rural, individualistic, almost frontier South. It would have been a herculean task to have reached the masses through normal associations, and the creation from the ground up of adequate propaganda machinery, if considered at all, was shunted aside for more pressing problems until it was too late. Tre-

mendous propaganda efforts were made, but they were sporadic, voluntary, unsystematized, uneven in merit, and they failed to arouse in the people an irresistible determination to fight an all-out war.

The second paper of this session, read by Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Rollins College, dealt with "Incidents of the Confederate Blockade." The Civil War, she declared, was an international as well as a national crisis, for it involved the question whether there was to be a dominant power in the New World equal in strength and influence to any nation of Europe. The blockade, carried on in this international framework, had many ramifying aspects, with which the speaker dealt. As an illustration of blockade running as a tempting source of speculative investment, as well as a means of supplying needed materials to the Confederacy, she traced the activities of William A. Swann, a blockade broker of Fernandina, Florida. She also discussed at some length the vexatious international questions that had their origin at Matamoros, Mexico, situated on the Rio Grande some thirty-two miles from its mouth. From a place of no importance in 1861, this town developed into a great center of commerce not only for foreign ships but for United States vessels as well. Despite the fact that this was recognized as a leak in the blockade (eighty per cent of the port's trade was declared to be with the Confederates), the United States could do little about it. The river had to be left open by reason of a treaty with Mexico; further, the blockade applied only to seaport trade with the Confederacy, and that between Matamoros and Texas was inland navigation and transportation.

Henry T. Shanks of Birmingham-Southern College led the discussion of the two papers. His examination of Virginia sources for the Civil War, he asserted, substantiated, in the main, Professor Silver's contentions. He was of the opinion, however, that the latter had used the term propaganda rather loosely to include any of the forces which helped to build morale, whether or not the intent to influence public opinion for a purpose was present. He suggested that the paper omitted discussion of such important morale building forces as the activities of Confederate women, the correspondence of soldiers, charges to

juries, debates in Congress and legislatures, community activities of churches, the novels, and the literary magazines. Mrs. Hanna's paper, he believed, helped to fill in the picture of blockade running. He raised a question, however, as to whether she had overemphasized the importance of the *Peterhoff* case, since there were similar cases before and after that particular one, and seizures continued after the *Peterhoff* was condemned by the lower court. She failed, he thought, to present sufficient evidence to prove that the opinion of President Lincoln's cabinet corresponded to Chase's decision in this case in 1866.

The luncheon on Friday, held in the Main Dining Room of the Hermitage Hotel, was a joint meeting with the Tennessee Historical Society. Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University presided, and Stanley F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, presented a paper on "Nashville During the Civil War." He traced the steps by which Tennessee severed its ties with the Union and joined the Confederacy. An influential minority of Nashville citizens opposed this course, but an overwhelming majority endorsed it with enthusiasm and action. Parades were frequent; men and women organized to further the war effort; industrial plants began to turn out materials of war; the legislature and the citizens sought to induce the Confederate government to make Nashville its capital. Numerous volunteer companies were organized and drilled in the streets before marching off to the front. The city became an important base for the armies of Albert Sidney Johnston.

Mr. Horn then showed how the fall of Fort Donelson changed all this. The Confederates retired to the South, while the Federals occupied Nashville amid scenes of disorder and confusion. Henceforth, until the end of the war, it was to remain an important base of operations for the Union forces. The occupation authorities undertook vigorously to stamp out the spirit of "rebellion" that permeated the citizens, while, at the same time, they erected strong fortifications in and about the city. Nashville thus became such a strong point that all future efforts at recapture by the Confederates, whether under Bragg, Morgan, Forrest, or Hood, were futile. Life in Nashville, in the grip of an

army of occupation with its secret police and other weapons of suppression, showed similarities to that in France during the recent German occupation. A minority of the people were sincerely loyal to the Union. Some collaborated for selfish motives, while others did so with fingers crossed. The great majority were sullenly hostile and resorted to passive resistance. An active and tireless minority formed an "underground." The speaker discussed at some length Hood's campaign into Tennessee, which culminated in the Battle of Nashville. The closing days of 1864, he said, saw Hood in retreat and Nashville in mourning.

The Friday afternoon program, held in the Assembly Hall of the Hermitage Hotel and presided over by Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, was devoted to the general topic "The Rural South." Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky read the first paper, the subject of which was "The Furnishing and Supply System in Southern Agriculture since 1865." The paper undertook to examine the role of the furnishing merchant in the southern agricultural credit system. Its statements of facts were based upon the records of merchants, and upon the writings of contemporaries who realized the significance of the new credit system. The merchant's place in the furnishing and credit system was examined from the viewpoint of credits, prices, book-keeping methods, and lien and mortgage taking. Several characteristic personal accounts were examined to present as clear a picture as possible of the customer and his purchases, and of his fate in the credit system. Some attention was given the merchant's position as an intermediary factor for extra-regional capitalists, and as an agent for cotton and produce speculators and for the commercial fertilizer companies. The general conclusion was that, although the system was bad and many merchants were gross offenders in their own rights, the majority, after all, were simply "on-the-ground representatives" of other and bigger interests. They never actually originated anything. They were the most direct means by which the lien laws were made to work, and they were sources of credit and supply for their communities.

The second paper on this program was presented by James C. Bonner of Georgia State College for Women on the subject of "Southern

Plantation Architecture." Professor Bonner showed that out of the welter of dilapidated homesteads and the westward migration, resulting from intensive cotton culture and soil exhaustion, Southerners of the 1850's began to formulate a philosophy of rural plantation architecture. It was thought that one of the greatest problems of the South was to stabilize its population so that it might be educated to better farming methods, and that improvement of the homestead would aid this process and would increase the value of the land. In the 1850's there began to emerge a "Southern system" of rural architecture and landscape design. Southerners rejected the Greek Revival, not because it was unsuited to the climate but because this form was not a distinctly southern pattern. Also, it was associated with such evils as absenteeism, the tendency of planters to leave the farm and to imitate urban life. It was extravagant, costly, and impractical for the plantation. The Gothic Revival was likewise non-southern and thus was doomed to failure in that day of rampant southern nationalism. The paper suggested that a compromise between the Greek Revival and the Gothic on the one hand and the double log cabin with its variations on the other, was well under way by 1860. The trend indicates a harmonization of the conflicting elements in each. It emphasized low cost, simplicity, and comfort, and popularized the use of native materials, particularly noticeable in landscaping. The native magnolia, for example, began to replace not only exotics but even evergreens from other sections of this country. The movement not only reflected southern nationalism, climate, and the agrarian culture of the region, but it also reflected that political democracy which came to characterize the South between 1830 and 1860. The movement was interrupted by the war in 1861 and never came to fruition. The post-bellum architecture of the cotton belt was characterized as being as chaotic and as suggestive of frustration as was its social, economic, and political life.

Robert S. Cotterill of Florida State College for Women led the discussion of the two papers. He pointed out that old accounts of the furnishing merchant had been written under the influence of the Populist movement and were therefore one-sided. Professor Clark, by reason

of his research, had been able to restore the balance. In his opinion, the paper showed that the furnishing merchant was one of the many institutions of the Old South that held over to the New South. It showed further that there were other factors much more powerful than the furnishing merchant that helped to perpetuate the one-crop system of the South. In regard to southern plantation architecture, he thought that part of Professor Bonner's evidence was probably directed against farm houses rather than plantation houses. He suggested that the Southerner frequently looked on his home as a factory, since he was a farmer for revenue only, and therefore that the southern home should not be compared with the northern home, but with the northern factory.

The annual dinner of the Association was held on Friday evening in the Main Dining Room of the Hermitage Hotel, with William O. Lynch of Indiana University presiding. During the course of the dinner prints of an unusual photograph of Andrew Jackson's home, the Hermitage, and its gardens were distributed to the guests as mementos of the occasion from the Tennessee Historical Society. Chancellor O. C. Carmichael of Vanderbilt University extended greetings to members of the Association and their friends in behalf of the sponsoring institutions. Wendell H. Stephenson delivered his presidential address on "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship." In view of the fact that this address appears in full elsewhere in this number (See pp. 3-32), it need not be summarized here. Following the conclusion of this session the members and visitors were guests at a reception tendered by the Tennessee Historical Society in the Assembly Hall of the Hermitage Hotel.

On Saturday morning, November 4, there was a session in the same hall on "Aspects of Southern Life." J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina presided. "Alexander H. Stephens and the Election of 1860" was the subject of a paper by Ollinger Crenshaw of Washington and Lee University. Stephens, according to the speaker, was deeply pessimistic throughout 1859-1860. He retired from politics, permanently as he thought, but kept in touch with public affairs

through numerous correspondents. Many of these urged him to permit his name to go before the Charleston convention as a presidential candidate. Although he declined to allow this, he would not say publicly that he would refuse the nomination. Privately, he indicated that under certain conditions he might accept the presidential nomination or even that for the vice-presidency. As a friend of Stephen A. Douglas and an opponent of secession, Stephens seemed to many to be the logical heir to Douglas' strength should the latter fail of nomination either at Charleston or at Baltimore. Events proved these hopes illusory. Although privately critical of Douglas' insistence on taking the nomination at Baltimore and although disagreeing with the Illinois senator in certain particulars, Stephens still regarded Douglas as the best defender of southern interests among the presidential candidates. In a desperate hope of checking secession, Stephens campaigned for Douglas in Georgia, though with little hope of success. The campaign revealed Stephens' distrust of southern leaders, many of whom he would later combat as colleagues in the Confederate government.

The second paper of the Saturday program was read by Clement Eaton of Lafayette College. His subject was "Orthodoxy Versus Liberalism in the Old South." Beginning with the assertion that an alternation of orthodoxy and liberalism is necessary to the healthy growth of a society, Professor Eaton went on to show that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the South entered a liberal cycle in respect to politics, slavery, and religion. Among those profoundly affecting southern religious thought at this time were Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, Dr. Thomas Cooper, Joseph Gales, Thomas Jefferson, and Harry Toulmin. Such liberals advocated the purification of religion by the use of reason, by separation of church and state, and by de-emphasizing sectarian differences. The South was more liberal at this time than was England or Germany. In the late 1820's, however, this region entered a cycle of religious conservatism that was only slightly affected by the new science of geology, which conflicted with the literal interpretation of the Bible. Pointing out that northern society was also hostile to the revolutionary implications of geological discoveries, he

showed that many southern thinkers and scientists were freer from religious inhibitions in explaining natural phenomena than were their northern contemporaries. Liberalism in regard to slavery found expression in the American Colonization Society, in the efforts of southern antislavery men to propagandize their moderate views, and in attempts to ameliorate the condition of slaves. This paper dealt particularly with the neglected subject of southern endeavors to reform the black codes, as well as with certain enlightened attempts to develop the mental and moral capacities of slaves.

T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University led the discussion of these two papers. Agreeing that the presidential contest of 1860 was the most momentous election in our history, he posed certain questions with respect to the southern vote that needed to be answered before there could emerge a thorough understanding of that section's attitudes on such issues as secession, constitutional theories, slavery expansion, and others. One of the most valuable things about the paper on Stephens, he thought, was its analysis of one southern mind in a critical period. With respect to Professor Eaton's paper, he also raised several questions. What in southern society, he asked, caused it to become more orthodox after 1830? Was it the result of the South's minority complex, resulting in turn from outside criticism of slavery? Did the defense of slavery have anything to do with religious orthodoxy?

The Nashville meeting was concluded on Saturday with the annual business session and election of officers, held in connection with a luncheon tendered to the members of the Association by Vanderbilt University and George Peabody College for Teachers.

Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

BY JAMES W. PATTON

Pursuant to a vote of the Executive Council taken by mail during the early spring, it was decided to resume this year the annual meetings of the Association, which for the two years preceding have been cancelled in consequence of the wartime emergency. The 1944 meeting, held at Nashville, Tennessee, upon the invitation of Vanderbilt University and George Peabody College for Teachers, was well attended and its proceedings received with much interest.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held in Nashville on November 2, William C. Binkley reported that Vanderbilt University was not yet in a position to assume the sponsorship of the *Journal of Southern History* on a permanent basis, but that it would continue the present arrangement for another year. This offer was accepted. The Managing Editor was given authority to select a new editorial associate in place of Henry L. Swint, now in the armed service, and to report such action to the Council. Upon the nomination of the Managing Editor, Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky and Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Rollins College were elected to membership on the Board of Editors for four-year terms, replacing Paul H. Buck and Ella Lonn whose terms expire at the end of 1944. The Council voted to allow an increase in the stipend of the Secretary-Treasurer from \$300 to \$500 per year.

A second meeting of the Council was held on November 3, at which time an invitation from Birmingham-Southern College to hold the 1945 annual meeting of the Association in Birmingham, Alabama, was accepted. Following a discussion of some length with regard to future policy of the Association, the Council voted to authorize the President to appoint a standing committee of not less than three or more than five members on endowment and publications.

At the annual business meeting of the Association, held on November 4, resolutions were adopted as follows:

That this Association feels a deep sense of gratitude to Professor William C. Binkley for maintaining the high character of the *Journal of Southern History* in the face of almost insurmountable war difficulties; and to Vanderbilt University for assuming and continuing in this period of increasing publication costs and decreasing college revenue the financial sponsorship of the *Journal*.

And:

That this Association expresses its appreciation to the Manager and the employees of the Hermitage Hotel for their spirit of co-operation during the meeting; to the Committee on Local Arrangements for planning and executing the details of the meeting; to Vanderbilt University and George Peabody College for Teachers for the complimentary luncheon on Saturday and for serving as sponsors of the meeting; and to the Tennessee Historical Society for co-operation in the meeting and for an enjoyable reception on Friday evening.

The following officers of the Association were elected for 1945: vice-president, Ella Lonn, Goucher College; secretary-treasurer, James W. Patton, North Carolina State College; members of the Executive Council for three-year terms expiring with 1947, Henry T. Shanks of Birmingham-Southern College and J. Winston Coleman, Jr., of Lexington, Kentucky. By provision of the Constitution the present vice-president of the Association, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, automatically succeeds to the presidency for 1945.

It is gratifying to report that the rather large losses in membership sustained by the Association in 1942 and 1943 are not being repeated this year. As of December 31, 1943, the Secretary reported an active membership of 865. Since that date, 20 members have resigned and 45 have been dropped for non-payment of dues after remaining in arrears for twelve months. Four distinguished members have been removed by death: James Boyd, well-known historical novelist, of Southern Pines, North Carolina; John Stewart Bryan, newspaper publisher of Richmond, Virginia, and chancellor and former president of the College of William and Mary; Douglas Crawford McMurtrie, of Evanston, Illinois, author of numerous works on typography and the history of printing; and William Brown Morrison, professor of history

at the Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma. As against this loss of 69, sixty-four new members have been secured, and ten previously inactive have been restored to active affiliation. This makes a net gain of five members and a total active membership of 870. Eleven of these are life members, this number having been increased by two during the current year. There is also an exchange list of 73, making a grand total of 943. Of the active members, 33 are still in arrears for 1944 dues, as compared with 55 reported in a similar category at this time last year.

As will appear from the appended statement, the finances of the Association are in a sound condition. An additional investment of \$740 has been made in United States Savings Bonds during the year, with the result that the Association now holds securities of this type having a maturity value of \$10,000.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

December 31, 1944

Balance as of January 1, 1944:

Investments:

7 U. S. Savings Bonds, Series D, @	
\$750.00	\$5,250.00
Interest accrued but not collected,	
1940-1943	490.00
2 U. S. Savings Bonds, Series F, @	
\$740.00	1,480.00
Interest accrued but not collected,	
1942-1943	28.00
	<hr/>
Total investments	\$7,248.00
Checking account, Wachovia Bank and	
Trust Company, Raleigh, North Caro-	
lina	2,459.96
	<hr/>
Total	\$9,707.96

Receipts, January 1 through December 31, 1944:

Annual dues collected	\$1,747.76
Sales of extra copies, back files, and re-	
prints, <i>Journal of Southern History</i> ...	162.18

Life memberships	100.00	
Interest on Savings Bonds, accrued but not collected	168.00	
		<hr/>
Total receipts		\$2,177.94
		<hr/>
Total to be accounted for		\$11,885.90
Disbursements, January 1 through December 31, 1944:		
Printing:		
<i>Journal of Southern History,</i>		
February and May issues	\$1,009.01	
Title pages and index, 1943	97.66	
Authors' reprints	299.14	
Programs for annual meeting	43.03	
Stationery and supplies	32.27	
Mimeographing	10.00	
Bank charges	5.81	
Express	38.95	
Postage and telegrams	39.59	
Secretary's stipend	300.00	
		<hr/>
Total disbursements		\$1,875.46
		<hr/>
Balance as of January 1, 1945		\$10,010.44

ANALYSIS OF BALANCE

Investments:

7 U. S. Savings Bonds, Series D, @ \$750.00	\$5,250.00	
Interest accrued but not collected, 1940- 1944	630.00	
3 U. S. Savings Bonds, Series F, @ \$740.00	2,220.00	
Interest accrued but not collected, 1942- 1944	56.00	
		<hr/>
Total investments	\$8,156.00	
Checking account, Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, Raleigh, North Caro- lina	1,854.44	
		<hr/>
Total		\$10,010.44

Notes and Documents

A BRITISH VIEW OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON, 1776

EDITED BY FRANCES REECE KEPNER

The failure of the British attempt to capture Charleston in June, 1776, has long since been recognized as meaning the postponement for at least three years of the opportunity for British penetration of the American colonies through the South during the American Revolution.¹ It is also generally understood that the failure was due as much to the poor judgment and blundering of the British commanders as to the valor of the revolutionary defenders. That some of the British authorities were aware of this mismanagement at the time or shortly afterward is indicated by the following report which seems to have been made to Lord George Germain, the colonial secretary, in 1778, by one who was a resident of Charleston during the months of preparation at Fort Moultrie and a witness of the June events when the city was within sight of Sir Peter Parker's naval vessels and Sir Henry Clinton's land forces.

The document, accompanied by a folded manuscript map, is in the Lord George Germain Papers at the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.² It is unsigned, but the handwriting, the style, and some internal evidence make it possible to identify the author as James Simpson, who had served in various governmental capacities in the province of South Carolina before the beginning of the Revolution. He had been acting judge of the court of vice-admiralty during the absence of the regular judge about 1769 to 1771, and was for a time a clerk for the Royal Council. In 1774 he was appointed royal attorney general for South Carolina, which position he still held at the outbreak of hostili-

¹ A detailed account of the siege and the culminating battle, based largely upon American sources, is in Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780* (New York, 1902), 136-62.

² The report covers twenty manuscript pages, written in a small but very legible hand. In printing it here, the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the original are retained.

ties. Like other British officials, he must have left Charleston some time after the war began, for he was in England in 1778, and in 1779 he returned to America from London on a secret mission for Germain. He landed in Savannah and stayed there a few days determining the loyalist sympathies of that region in preparation for a second British expedition to Charleston. His acquaintance with prominent persons enabled him to gather information much faster than he had anticipated. After the British occupation of Charleston in 1780, Simpson was returned to this familiar city as the Intendant of Police. His official positions and some of his writings indicate that he probably had some legal training. To this scanty information about him there can be added only the date of his death, which occurred in England on November 30, 1815, in his seventy-seventh or seventy-eighth year.

Sir Peter Parker was apparently convinced that the capture of Charleston would be an easy victory, but after nine hours of cannonading Fort Moultrie he removed his ships, under the cover of darkness, into safe waters. To General Clinton, this was an unexpected retreat, for he assumed that Parker would continue the fight a second day, and that a change in circumstances would permit the army to do its share in the campaign. Other records show that the failure of the British created personal differences between Clinton and Parker, each blaming the other for the defeat. Parker maintained that he gave the signals for attack as agreed upon; Clinton claimed that no signals were ever made. Parker said that Sullivan's Island would have been theirs had the land troops operated; but he did give Clinton credit for not landing his men under certain, deadly fire. Clinton believed that Parker had not sailed the ships close enough to Sullivan's Island to be most effective. To this dispute he added a word about Parker's ignoring an important communication. It should be pointed out, however, that regardless of all the blame the two commanders laid on each other, unfavorable weather, the tides, and the varying depths of the harbor also contributed materially toward making it impossible for their plans to be executed. But James Simpson, it will be noted, criticized both commanders for their ignorance and ineptness and suggested the desirability of an investigation of their conduct.

To dwell upon disaster & public misfortune, is as irksome, as it may be thought invidious & unprofitable, to censure past Conduct. Upon such Occasions the familiar remark, "that it is easier to discover Errors after a Miscarriage, than to have foreseen and prevented them before it," readily occurs. Yet it may be matter of Curiosity, if not of utility, to inquire into the Circumstances which have occasioned the loss of an important part of the British Empire in America, not calculated for resisting a regular force, but on the contrary, in the habit of Alarm, upon every appearance of ill-humour in the most trifling Tribe of Indians on its Western frontier: At the same time, that it was the Southern extremity of the American Confederacy at first; afterwards the Cause of the Accession of Georgia, and, since, the great Source of remittance, for Ammunition and Cloathing for the revolted Colonys.—From hence it will appear, that South Carolina is particularly alluded to, which may be considered as finally lost, by the unfortunate miscarriage at Charlestown in June 1776. In order to trace the causes of which, it may be proper to take a view of the Situation of that Country, a little before, as well as at, that unfortunate period[.]

Considering the critical Situation of affairs in America for some time past, it will be difficult to account, for the inattention of Government, to this important Colony. For it is no less true than extraordinary, that for near two years preceeding the Expedition under Sir Peter Parker & General Clinton, the only force at Charlestown, the Capital & Key of the Colony, was the Tamar Sloop of Sixteen Guns, commanded by an old Superannuated Officer; and the Cherokee armed Vessel of Six Guns, accidentally there, on the Service of Surveying the Coast.

Notwithstanding the Slender force at Charlestown, it was long, before its Inhabitants could be prevailed upon to Arm, and Still longer, before they entertained an Idea, of defending it against Ships of War, which they had hitherto been accustomed to View, in a very formidable light.

When Accounts were received of the Battle at Lexington, and, Soon afterwards of that at Bunkers-Hill, the leaders were under the necessity of having recourse to a Plot, pretended to be formed by Government, for an Insurrection of the Slaves, to collect the Militia, and furnish a pretence for raising two Regiments of Infantrie, afterwards put upon the Continental Establishment. The Story of this horrid Conspiracy, which I cannot permit my self to believe, ever had any foundation in fact, was industriously propogated, by the Designing, & was credited by and terrified the Weak.—The Militia were therefore obliged to do Duty, as in times of actual alarm, The Officers of the Crown, were confined to the Town, & given to understand, that they were considered as Hostages, & must Suffer whatever might be inflicted, on any of the Americans. Every appearance of legal Government being lost, the Governor found it necessary, to take refuge on Board the Cherokee, in Rebellion road, in the end of Sept.^r 1775.

The two Regiments of Infantry, were, however, raised very Slowly; & difficulties occurred, in procuring even the officers, none of whom had ever seen Service, or knew any thing of the Art Military, except one or two, who served in the Provincials last War. Such Troops, therefore, were more formidable to the discontented among the Inhabitants themselves, than to any invading Enemy: more immediately under the Command of their Officers, and Subject to Martial Law, they were much more tractable, than the Militia, Composed of the people at large, Still much divided in their Opinions, and after discovering a dangerous Spirit of resistance, to the recently usurped authority. Even the two Regiments, were not without Symptoms of discontent & Sedition, which required the Strictest attention of their Officers, to guard against.

So late as Oct.^r 1775, a proposal to fortify Charlestown, produced a petition against it, from three hundred & Sixty of its most respectable Inhabitants, whose attachment to the American Cause, was not doubtful, & upon that Occasion Mr. Lowndes now (1778) their President,³ who was himself a Petitioner, named five of their number, worth half a million Carolina money. This question was about that time frequently lost; for I do not find, that any Rule was observed in the Assembly, against resuming a question, which had been lost the same Session.

Fort Johnston, occupied by only five or Six old men, had been Seized by a detachment of the first Regiment, who employed themselves in repairing it; & a Small Battery was raised, a little to the Westward, for which few people could discover any use. It has been said since, by some of the Leaders, who now take credit, for having persisted in the Idea of defence, that these Works were carried on, merely to occasion some expence, which they might use as an Argument, to continue fortifying, as the expence and labour already incurred, would be entirely lost if they were not perfected, and if the Town should at last be lost, the expence of fortification, wou'd bear but a trifling proportion to the Public misfortune.

Such were the means used, to induce the people, to raise Troops & fortifications, when the Tamar & Cherokee, by being obliged to leave Sullivans Island, in January 1776, for want of Provisions, furnished an Opportunity, for erecting Fort Moultrie, which has since been so much distinguished. A Regiment of Artillery was then set on foot; Soon after, a Regiment of Rangers; and since a Regiment of Riflemen. But as the two Regiments of Infantry, could never be compleated, it may be supposed, that the new Corps were very difficient.—They served, however, to provide for many idle people in the Back-Country, and consequently had the effect, of Strengthening the party where it was weakest.

In the Month of February, a report prevailed, of an intended expedition against Charlestown, and a Man of Wars Barge, having been discovered near

³ Rawlins Lowndes, who succeeded John Rutledge as president of the provincial congress of South Carolina in March, 1778.

the Harbour, soon after, Confirm'd the Suspicion; which induced Numbers of people, to leave the Town, and retire into the Country, with their most valuable effects.—So little confidence had they yet acquired, that half the best Houses in Town, were left empty, and people were afterwards suffered, to occupy them rent free. Every means were employed, to prevent this general desertion, Punishment & Derision, were held out to the Delinquents, but with little effect. Property about this time, seemed to be little regarded. Numbers of the empty houses, particularly those, of persons suspected of being inimical, as it was termed, to America, were filled with Militia from the back Country, who destroyed, & even burnt as firewood, such furniture as remained, with impunity.

All the most moderate, having left the Town, and all power being now in the hands of the violent, Supported by Military force, every appearance of Discontent or dissention, received immediate punishment; the more to be dreaded as it was indefinite, and dictated by the resentment of those, who considered themselves as parties. This favourable opportunity was embraced, to give form to their new Government; & accordingly in March 1776, a regular Constitution was formed, and the Provincial Congress, which now assumed the more familiar Name of Assembly, appointed a President of the State, a Privy Council, and a Legislative Council, which last, was to be the intermediate branch of Legislature, and they forthwith appointed all Officers Civil & Military, and proceeded to enact Severe Laws, against what was termed Sedition & Treason.

The fortifications were now much attended to, Fort Moultrie began to exhibit the form of a Square with Bastions. It is Composed of Mud & Sand, faced with Palmeto Tree, and was at this time open on all sides, except that towards the Sea, and, therefore, cou'd only be considered as a Battery of heavy Cannon: The two Regiments of Infantry, did Duty here, & at Fort Johnston, alternately.—The Bastions near Charlestown, which had been Suffered to fall to decay, after the late Peace, were also repaired, tho' far from being in a respectable condition. And a few Guns were placed, upon Several of the Wharfs[.]

Such was the Situation of Charlestown, on the 4.th of June 1776, when the British Fleet, under the Command of Sir Peter Parker, appeared before its Harbour.—Upwards of Sixty Sail of Ships, among which nine or ten Pendants were plainly discernable; so placed, as entirely to cover that part of the Sea, which appears between Sullivans Island & Cummings point, was a new Spectacle at Charlestown, & seemed to contain a force, considerable exceeding, what they had any reason to have apprehended. The people therefore, viewed it with astonishment and Dismay.—The first Step, which was taken, after the proper Signals of alarm, was to place Centinels, at the avenue leading from the Town, to prevent desertion. The Inhabitants were then Assembled in Arms, and examples immediately made, in terrorem, of such as discovered any disinclination to Act, or refused a Test-Oath, which was then tendered. The Crown officers, and all such as were more immediately suspected of disaffection, were put into close confinement, and their Papers Plate &c Seized, & lodged in the

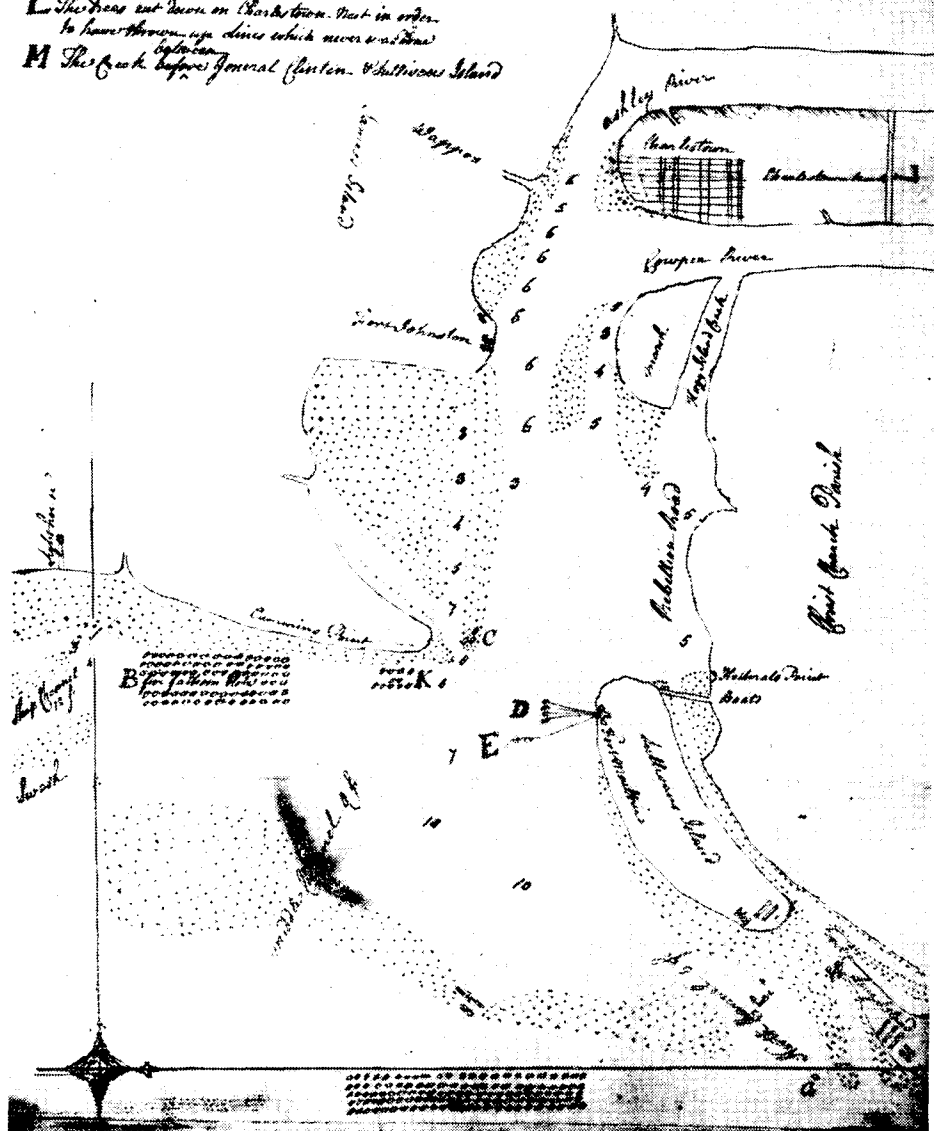
Treasury. The public Records, had been previously moved to Dorchester, a Country Town, about twenty miles west of Charlestown, where every Valuable Article belonging to the public, was now deposited. This seemed to be the Post, which they meant Seriously to have defended, when driven out of the Town, which few entertained any doubt of.—Expresses were next dispatched, all over the Country, to Summon assistance, which however came in very Slowly, the Country Militia, discovered no inclination, to hasten their March, to a place which they considered as devoted, and which they wou'd soon be obliged to abandon, perhaps with disgrace, if not danger. — The force of Charlestown, was therefore very inconsiderably Augmented, till the Arrival of General Lee, with two divisions of Troops, from the Northward, chiefly from Virginia and North Carolina, about *fourteen days after the Arrival of the Fleet*.⁴ The Troops brought by Mr. Lee, consisting of twelve or thirteen hundred, made a despicable appearance; but great confidence was placed in his Management & Military Skill. The Inhabitants of the Province, therefore, now began to repair to Town with more alacrity; especially, as the length of time, which had admitted of a March from Virginia & North Carolina, afforded them no pretence of absence.— Previous to Mr. Lees Arrival, no person was at Charlestown, in whose Military knowledge, any Confidence cou'd reasonably be placed; the people, therefore, eagerly crowded to him, to learn his plan of Defence, and were astonished to hear him recomend, the abandoning their favourite ffort on Sullivans Island. They represented, that from the vicinity [*sic*] of the Fleet, in five-fathom-hole, it wou'd be impracticable, to remove the Amunition & Artillery; upon which he was for spiking up the Guns, & withdrawing the Garrison, which he said, such a ffort was only a Trap for, and cou'd not be defended an hour. — It is, to the impractability of removing the Guns & Amunition, and the Strong inclination which Col. Moultrie, who commanded, discovered, to attempt Maintaining his post; not less than to our subsequent mismanagement, that we owe our disgrace at Sullivans Island.

Mr. Lee, who now took the Sole direction of the defence of the Town, proceeded to remove all the Stores, Situated on the Wharfs, in front of the Bay; behind which, the British Troops might have landed & formed. He then threw up a parallel line with the Bay, which cou'd have been only useful against Musketry; and, after barricading all the Streets, leading from the Water, and raising some lines, of little or no consequence, upon the Neck, he employed his leizure, in attending to the Islands in the Neighbourhood of the British Troops, encamped upon Long Island, under the Command of General Clinton. A Detachment of about four hundred Country Militia, Commanded by a Militia Colonel, with two Pieces of Cannon, were Stationed on the North east point

⁴ This was Major General Charles Lee, who had been ordered by General Washington to keep watch on the movements of Clinton's force. Other sources suggest that he reached Charleston in advance of the arrival of the fleet. See McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, 135.

Exp Sketch of the Harbour of Charleston in South Carolina

- A The Shipping on the 1st June 1776
- B The Action, Syren & Phryne a ground
- C The Bristol, Experiment, Action & Solberg agt Fort Moultrie
- E The Thunder Bomb covered by the Friendship Armed Ship
- F The Rangee Loop
- G The S. Characous Armed Schooner
- H General Clinton's Army on Long Island
- I A Party of Militia on Sullivan Island
- K The Men of War before & after the Attack
- L The Boats cut down on Charleston. Not in order to have thrown up dunes which never existed
- M The Creek before General Clinton & Sullivan Island



of Sullivans Island, opposite to General Clinton, to prevent his landing; of which there appeared but little danger, the Channel between them, not being fordable, & they far removed from their Shipping. — A Company of Grenadiers, belonging to the Charlestown Militia, with a detachment of Virginians, was stationed at Wetherals point, where two or three Cannon were also placed; and a communication by means of Boats, kept open, between that & Sullivans Island. — Fort Moultrie, was Garrisoned Chiefly, by the Second Regiment of Infantry, not consisting of more than two hundred men, and a few of the Artillery Regiment. Fort Johnston, was to be defended by the first Regiment, not so numerous; and the defence of the Town was to Occupy all the rest. — The whole collected force, for the defence of Charlestown, the Islands, and different Forts, never consisted of five thousand Men, none of whom, had ever seen Service, or knew any thing of the Management of Cannon, except a very few of the Artillery, with whom some pains had been taken. And when it is considered, that many of them, disaffected to the Cause in which they were engaged, Served by compulsion, and consequently had always an Apology ready, for Misbehaviour; their indifferent appointment in Officers & Arms; And the prepossession which they entertained, of being beat, by seeing every arrangement made for a Retreat, at least as far as Dorchester; we will not be apt to consider them, as very formidable, in an open Town, against three thousand five hundred regular Troops, well officered Armed & disciplined, And a powerful Fleet, consisting of two Fifty Gun Ships, five Frigates, a Bomb, & Several Armed Vessels. — But an unfortunate fatality, seemed to pervade, the whole business, on the part of the Assailants, upon this, as, I'm affraid I may add, it has done, on our part, upon every Occasion during the unfortunate Contest in America.

All the Fleet, a few days after its arrival, got Safe over the Bar, & anchored in five fathom-hole, except the Bristol. The Army were landed on long Island on the 9.th, And on the 10.th the Bristol got over the Bar also. — On the 28.th about eleven O'clock in the Morning, all the Men of War, got under Way, and Stood towards Sullivans Island. — This was an awful moment in Charlestown, for tho' the sight of them had become familiar, and time had in some measure effaced the impression, which their first appearance had made; And though the Situation of the Troops, under General Clinton, occasioned little apprehension, from their Co-operation; yet their motion occasioned visible alarm. — They, to the Surprize of every person on Shore, soon after brought up, at half flood, *about eight hundred yards distant* from ffort Moultrie, and immediately began, a very heavy Cannonade, Previous to which, & about this time, a few Shells were thrown from the Thunder-Bomb, Covered by the Friendship Armed-Ship, at a prodigious distance; but this Bombardment, was soon discontinued, for what reason I cannot pretend to say: It has been reported, that some of the Aparatus on board the Bomb, gave way. Be that as it may, little or no Service was done by the Shells. — The Acteon, Syren, and Sphynx,

attempting to proceed farther to the Westward, with an apparent intention, to inflade a part of the Fort not compleated, which would greatly have annoyed the Garrison, and perhaps with a View of Cutting off their Retreat, got aground upon a Bank, commonly called the town-Middle, opposite to, but at a great distance from the Fort. Tho' only at half flood, and in moderate Weather, the *Acteon* never got off, but was set on fire, and abandoned next morning. And the other two Vessels, tho' they got off, never proceeded to the Station which originally appeared to be their object, the reason of which I never could learn. The *Bristol* and *Experiment*, of fifty Guns each, & the *Active* & *Solebay* of twenty eight, kept up almost an incessant fire upon the fort, for upwards of nine hours. — The fire of the fort, chiefly directed against the great Ships, particularly the *Bristol*, on Board of which Sir Peter Parker's broad Pendant appeared, was returned but Slowly, and at considerable intervals; for which two reasons concurred; they were short of amunition, and far from being expert in the management of the Guns. It received little damage, and they had no men killed, except by accidental Shot, as they were running out the Guns, or indiscreetly peeping over the Parapet[.] Ten men killed, and about twenty wounded, was all the loss which the Garrison Suffered. — The loss of men and Damage on board the Ships, was much more considerable. It appears, that the *Bristol* had no less than forty men killed, & Seventy one wounded; the *Experiment* twenty three killed, and twenty Six wounded; the *Active* a Lieutenant killed and Six men wounded; and the *Solebay* eight men wounded. The great Ships, suffered very considerably in their Hulls & Rigging; and people on Shore, were not without hopes, that they wou'd not get off. About nine O'clock in the Evening, they all withdrew to their former Moorings.

The anxious suspence, which occupied the minds of those who were not immediately engaged; the honest indignation of British Seamen, when Baffled by an Enemy, which they had been taught to despise, after every effort of Courage, which distinguishes that Class of men; And the feelings of the British Army, in the Singular Situation, of being obliged to be idle Spectators, of the disgrace of their Countrymen, without having it in their power, either to assi[s]t them, or prevent it, may be more easily conceived, than expressed. — The courage of the men, cannot be impeached. They behaved upon this, as they do upon all occasions. Even the Seamen of the Transports, with unparalleled galantry and generosity, crowded on board the Men of War, Volantarily offering, to Supply the places, of their killed & wounded Brethern, Had the Conduct of the Commanders, equalled the Courage of their men, we should not have occasion at this day, to lament so disgraceful a disaster.

The first objection, to the Conduct of this Business, which naturally presents it self, is the length of time, which was suffered to elapse, between the arrival of the Fleet, and the attack. It afforded time for the Enemy to recollect themselves, & make the arrangement, which has been mentioned. Even if the Island only was the object, it was highly disadvantageous, but if the Town, it was

Still more so. For if the Attack had been proceeded upon, before the people were assisted, with any advice, which they had confidence in, or reinforced by Numbers; without certainty of each others Conduct, disconcerted & Surprised, they cou'd have made little or no defence.

The Attack of the Island, in preference to the Town, in the first instance, was no less extraordinary; since it was evident, that, as the Ships cou'd lye under its Guns for nine hours, they might, with the Strong Easterly wind, & tide of flood which they had, easily have passed, both it & ffort Johnston, with little damage. The Transports, might have run above the Town, by the Rivers Ashley & Cowper, both wide enough, and of sufficient depth of Water, for the whole Fleet. While the Men of War, would very soon have dislodged, the Troops in Town, by their fire upon the Houses, almost all built of Brick, particularly upon the Bay; which wou'd have occasioned Such havock, as would very soon, have rendered it untenable; or they might have followed the Transports, and covered the landing of the Troops, upon the Neck, not above a mile broad, from whence, General Clinton might have proceeded to Town, without difficulty, there being no fortification, on that side, to oppose him. And I am inclined to believe, that, upon the appearance of an arrangement like this, the Town would have been abandoned, before a Shot had been fired: A conjecture not at all improbable, when its defenceless State, and the precaution which had been taken, of removing everything, to Dorchester, are considered. ffor it is a certain fact, that there was not in the whole Town, & in all the fforts, that at Sullivans Island included, as much Gun-powder, as was Sufficient for its expenditure alone; insomuch, that a Supply was necessarily brought from Dorchester, during the Engagement. But admitting, that contrary to all probability, they had failed in their first attempt; they cou'd not have been exposed to much danger; for they might have been so placed, in the two Rivers, as to be opposite to Marshes on each side, where no Cannon cou'd possibly be placed, to annoy them; and there were not, as many Boats in the Harbour, as would have Served for boarding, if the Garrison had been disposed for such an Exploit. And in this Situation, they might have remained, until it was expedient, either to renew the Attack, or to retire: But indeed, such ffailure was scarce within the reach of possibility. — In consequence of their being thus above the Town, they would have had a free Communication, with the Country, by means of the Rivers, from whence they would have received, correct intelligence, and been recruited by Deserters; both which were impossible where they lay. — When the Town was reduced, the Garrison at Sullivans Island, must have Surrendered of course, it being Supplied only from thence and all communication with the Country, being easily cut off, by taking possession of the Wethrals point. The retreat of the Garrison of ffort Johnston, might also have been cut off, by means of Small Vessels, Stationed in Wappoo Creek, and Stone River, which form James's Island, on which the ffort Stands. The Garrison of Charlestown, driven from thence, must have retired, probably to Dorchester, where, without accom-

modations, in a very unhealthy Country, they would soon have suffered great loss by Sickness: While the Kings Troops, well accommodated in the Town, would have enjoyed the health, which is always experienced there, in preference to any part of the Country. The opportunities which, in an extensive Country, wou'd have presented themselves to the disaffected, for Desertion, would have enabled many, to get to the Kings Army, which, though it was their inclination, they could not effect, as things were conducted. The disaffected, in the Back Country, particularly, who had appeared in Arms, in great numbers, and had been but recently Subdued, would in all probability, either have collected themselves again, & annoyed the Enemy from that quarter, or have found their way to Charlestown. In this Situation, from the Waste of men, which soon must have been felt, and the hardships of the former Inhabitants of Charlestown, The Province in general, would have submitted; and the Defection of Georgia, which had neither Strength nor inclination, to continue Connected with the Confederacy, in such Circumstances, would soon have followed.

But admitting for a moment, that it was proper, to begin the attack by the reduction of Sullivans Island; or even if we could Suppose *it* the Sole object, of such an Armament, it will not appear less Strange, that General Clinton, should place the British fforces, upon Long Island, where they could not possibly be of Service in any event, than that he should continue there near three Weeks previous to the attack, without discovering, that such was his Situation; Or if he discovered it; without changing his Ground. For if Sir Peter Parker, had Succeeded in Silencing the ffort, we will be at a loss to know, what he would have done in consequence, having no Troops near him to land, or any apparent arrangement made, for taking possession in such an Event, so that, as soon as the ships ceased firing, the Garrison might have returned. — Whereas, had Troops been landed on any part of Sullivans Island, which in such moderate Weather might easily have been done, they would have been ready, to take advantage of any impression, made by the Shipping; or might even have assaulted the Fort, on the Land side, where it was not compleated, or any Guns properly mounted.

But if any thing can appear more extraordinary, than what has been described, it will be, that of placing the Ships, which were to Batter this ffort, at *eight hundred yards distance* from it, when they might, with the same degree of Safety, & infinitely more effect, have been within *one hundred & fifty*. It will be vain to urge, the ignorance or Cowardice of a Negroe Pilot, as an apology for this, when it is considered, that this was no obscure place, but well known, to many Gentlemen of the Navy; That the Cherokee, which lay at Tybee, in Georgia, within a few hours Sail of Charlestown bar, during the long interval, between the arrival of the Fleet, and the attack, had for many months occupied, this very Station; and that the Captain, an active intiligent Officer, of great Zeal for the Service, & indeed all his men, were well acquainted, with the Channel, opposite to the ffort, as also the Island, on which it Stands, & could

have Conducted the Ships, to their proper Stations. — But even without these resources, it may admit of doubt, among Gentlemen of the profession, how far it might not have been practicable, to have sounded in the night time. It is indeed remarkable, that of all the Captains of the Navy, who have, from time to time, been Stationed in Carolina, not one of them, was upon this Expedition.—

In short, whether we consider the time, which was lost before the Attack; the preference of the Islands, under all circumstances, to Charlestown, the Situation of the Troops under General Clinton; or that of the Ships Commanded by Sir Peter Parker, our Surprize can only be equalled, by that which must arise, from the patience of this Country, in forbearing to enquire, into the Causes which produced a miscarriage, as disgraceful to his Majestys Arms, as it was fatal to his Government in the Southern Colonies.

A NOTE ON JOSIAH GORGAS IN THE MEXICAN WAR

BY FRANK E. VANDIVER

The work of Josiah Gorgas as chief of ordnance of the Confederate States Army is reasonably well known to students of the military aspect of the Civil War; but comparatively little is known of his career as a junior officer in the United States Army during the Mexican War.¹ Born in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, on July 1, 1818, Gorgas graduated from West Point on his twenty-third birthday, sixth in his class. He was appointed brevet second lieutenant of ordnance and assigned to the Watervliet arsenal in New York, and later transferred to the Detroit arsenal. After a year's leave of absence in 1845 for study in Europe he was again assigned to duty at Watervliet, and at the beginning of the war with Mexico in 1846 he was stationed at the New York ordnance depot.²

¹ The sketch of Gorgas in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), VII, 428-30, merely says: ". . . early in 1847 [he] was sent with General Scott's expedition to Vera Cruz. He participated in the siege of that city and was left there in charge of the ordnance depot until July, 1848." See also, John M. Gibson, "The Miracle Man of the Confederacy," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902-), XLIII (1944), 56, for an even briefer statement.

² George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy*, 2 vols. (Third ed., New York, 1891), II, 66.

He was soon attached to the command of General Winfield Scott, and while on the way to Mexico with that force early in 1847 was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. Thus when Scott's army landed at Vera Cruz on March 9 to begin siege operations, Gorgas was going into action for the first time. The official records merely show that to the army his chief claim to attention was the fact that he was the only army ordnance officer present when the bombardment of the Vera Cruz defenses began on March 22; but the recent discovery of a number of letters which he wrote to his mother during the campaign makes it possible to offer a glimpse of his personal reaction to this experience.³

In the Vera Cruz bombardment Gorgas got his first taste of enemy fire and concentrated shelling. He admitted that it worried him for a time, but he soon found that he minded it no more than the explosion of a fowling piece.⁴ Following the surrender of Vera Cruz, Scott placed Gorgas in charge of the ordnance depot which was established there and immediately moved inland on his campaign toward the Mexican capital. Despite the importance of the post to which he had been assigned, Gorgas expressed to his mother his irritation over the fact that he could not go with the army. Taking advantage of the first opportunity to leave, he set out on April 17 to overtake the army, and on the way passed the battlefield of Cerro Gordo. The fact that he was four or five days too late to participate in the fighting there added to his mounting disappointment, but he tried to console himself by describing the scene of the battle. He wrote that "dead Mexicans lay along the road, & dead horses & mules literally putrified the air—Broken carriages & dismounted cannon showed where the fight had

³ These letters are in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. William D. Wrightson, of Chevy Chase, Maryland, to whom the writer is much indebted for permission to use them. Since all were written to his mother, Mrs. Sophia Gorgas, they are cited here simply by indicating the date and place of writing.

In this connection an examination of a manuscript "Copybook of Lieutenant Josiah Gorgas of the Siege Train Sent to Mexico," recently acquired by the New York Public Library, proved disappointing in that only the first letter in the book is by Gorgas, and it has no bearing on the contents of this "Note."

⁴ Letter of March 27, 1847, from Vera Cruz. For an excellent account of the capture of Vera Cruz and the campaign which followed, see Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1919), II, 17-164.

been the hottest." The wounded, he thought, had suffered horribly, some being without water for three days.⁵

His disappointment changed to disgust when, on catching up with the army at Jalapa, he was sent back to Vera Cruz "to arrange our Ordnance property & to attend to some necessary business."⁶ In reporting this to his mother he explained that he had been anxious to get away from Vera Cruz because of the reputed unhealthfulness of that city during the summer months, and that he regretted having to leave the "pure air" of Jalapa. Three months later he wrote that after his return to Vera Cruz yellow fever struck the city, as he had feared, and that he had contracted a mild case of that disease in June. His case had run its course in a few days, however, and had left no ill effects. He felt that he had been fortunate, because the enlisted personnel had been ravaged by the fever and many had died. Nearly all the officers had also been sick, he said, but good medical attention had held their mortality rate down.⁷

Gorgas' discomfiture at remaining behind was heightened by having to watch reinforcements go through the city on the way to Scott's army. On August 6, in noting that one thousand men had just gone out to join Scott, he expressed his desire "to be present at a good field fight where troops are deployed on a plain & fire away and where squadrons charge." In the same letter, however, he found consolation in the fact that at least he had comfortable living quarters. He wrote: "I live very comfortably here—have my own house & my own cooking—another officer lives at my table. I have too . . . fine fresh air in my rooms, being near the Sea."⁸

Still at Vera Cruz in January, 1848, he attended his first religious service since arriving in Mexico, and recorded his dissatisfaction with the sermon, which, he said, was delivered by "one of your long-faced, sorry looking" preachers "with a nasal twang." By this time he seems

⁵ Letter of May 10, 1847, from Vera Cruz.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Letter of August 6, 1847, from Vera Cruz. It is interesting to note that years later Gorgas' son, William Crawford Gorgas, was to make the building of the Panama Canal possible by his successful fight to stamp out yellow fever in that area.

⁸ Letter of August 6, 1847.

also to have become aware of the beauty of some of the Mexican women, and he teasingly asked his mother what she would do if he brought one home as his wife.⁹

But his main interest was still centered in his desire to be relieved from his assignment at Vera Cruz, and when the release finally came, late in January, he immediately made plans to leave for Mexico City at the earliest opportunity. After a very tedious march of twenty-four days, he reached his goal on March 1, 1848. Writing to his mother on that date, he said that although he was much impressed by the "view of the high snow-capped mountains on one side and the long valley dotted with lakes and covered with cities," he thought that there was an air of barrenness over the whole that dulled any feelings of delight which one might have at seeing it.¹⁰ Nor was his dissatisfaction confined to the scenery. A few days before his arrival at the capital the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been signed, and he complained that he faced the prospect of returning to the United States without having had any part in the fighting. It was only natural, perhaps, that to an officer of his age active combat service should seem more desirable than routine duty performed far behind the line of action. He left Mexico, therefore, with a feeling that a combination of circumstances had been working against him throughout the war. Thus his expressed reactions to his task as an ordnance officer at Vera Cruz in 1847-1848 could scarcely be considered as a forecast of the contribution which he was to make as chief of ordnance of the Confederacy in 1861-1865.

⁹ Letter of January 16, 1848, from Vera Cruz.

¹⁰ Letter of March 1, 1848, from Mexico City.

Book Reviews

Tennessee During the Revolutionary War. By Samuel Cole Williams. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1944. Pp. xi, 294. Appendices, illustrations. \$4.00.)

For many years the author of this volume, formerly an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee and at present chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, has devoted a large part of his time to the promotion of interest in and knowledge of the history of Tennessee. From widely scattered repositories of records he has assiduously assembled information about that part of the world that is known as the State of Tennessee, and from time to time he has gathered some of his notes together and published them in the form of books or articles. The list of such publications is an impressive one.

The present volume fills the gap between the periods covered by the author's *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* and his *History of the Lost State of Franklin*. It consists of a detailed chronicling of happenings during the years 1776-1783 within the geographical area that in 1796 was to become the State of Tennessee and of the participation by its inhabitants in the armed conflict outside that area. It is concerned with the history during these years of two distinct areas of white settlement. One, in what is now upper East Tennessee, was not a separate community but rather a natural extension across an artificial boundary line, and hence a continuation, of the southwestern Virginia community. One of the major contributions of this book is to increase our understanding of the closeness of the relationship between these future Tennesseans and their Virginia neighbors. The second area was a small island of white settlement centering about the present Nashville, the history of which, after its beginning, was largely independent of that of the first. Much of the book is concerned with the local aspects of frontier warfare between the Indians and the inhabitants of one or the other of these two settlements. In addition to this, however, Judge Williams has called attention more effectively than have other historians of Tennessee to the extent to which the men who lived in the eastern part of the area with which this book is concerned participated in the warfare against the British east of the mountains, not only at the well-known battle of King's Mountain, but elsewhere. In addition there is scattered but detailed information about the expansion of white settlements during those years, some equally scattered notice of governmental developments, and a chapter on "The People and Modes of Life."

This volume is a worth-while addition to the rather meager list of books from

which Tennesseans can learn something of the history of their state. Like its predecessors it is superior in quality to much of the work that is generally done by state and local historians. Nevertheless, it fails to meet the standards of scholarly work that characterize the best that is written by those who till the broad and fertile fields of state and local history. It is written in the tradition of the older annalists and chroniclers who are exemplified, in so far as Tennessee history is concerned, by such writers as James G. M. Ramsey. It lacks the touch of the professional historian who gives to the product of research in local history a quality of *expertise*, for the lack of which no amount of industry and enthusiasm and devotion to locality can compensate. It lacks perspective; it fails to establish in the reader's mind that relationship between the course of events in the region covered and the broader course of history that makes meaningful the details of local happenings. It is deficient somewhat in objectivity; there is lacking that judicial weighing of evidence in order to arrive as closely as may be at an understanding of the truth, without regard for concepts of what should have been, that is one of the products of a professional detachment from emotional relationships to and personal identification with the locality whose history is being studied. Most important, perhaps, it does not represent such a synthesizing of many factual details into a unified body of related and meaningful knowledge as characterizes the better products of professional historiography. The book is so cluttered with inconsequential minutiae of information, including the names of numerous persons of no importance whatsoever, and is so lacking in systematic organization that even the most conscientious reader has difficulty in visualizing the major developments in Tennessee's history during the American Revolution. Inadequate use has been made of the work of modern historians. There is evidence of carelessness in quoting that causes one to question the accuracy of statements of fact generally. (Compare, for example, the printed quotation from the petition of the inhabitants of Pendleton District on p. 17 with the facsimile of that petition.) There is frequently lack of precision in the citation of authority, as well as a failure to cite any authority for many quotations and statements of fact. There is no bibliography. There is no map, though one would be most helpful in understanding the text.

National Archives

PHILIP M. HAMER

John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828. By Charles M. Wiltse. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944. Pp. 477. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography. \$3.75.)

In view of Calhoun's great importance in our history it is curious that the biographies of him have been so undistinguished. There are, of course, the laudatory campaign life of 1843 (generally believed to have been written by Calhoun himself); the condemnatory work of Von Holst, who regarded his

subject as a fallen angel, committed to "a doomed and unholy cause," his life one of "dark glory"; the sympathetic yet sketchy essay of Gaillard Hunt; and that egregious hodgepodge by Arthur Styron published in 1935 under the title of *The Cast-Iron Man*. Outstanding, though not a distinguished work, has been the two-volume biography by William M. Meigs published in 1917. Meigs' first volume will still be useful for its judicious interpretations and detailed development of certain aspects of Calhoun's career. Yet it must now give way in many respects to this new volume by Charles M. Wiltse, which is much better written, better proportioned on the whole, and enriched by secondary works and source materials not available to Meigs.

The Calhoun of whom Mr. Wiltse writes is an engaging subject. Here is not the older, gaunt, chin-whiskered Calhoun of the familiar engraving, who was characterized by Mrs. Jefferson Davis as "a mental and moral abstraction" and by Harriet Martineau as "the cast-iron man, who looks as if he had never been born." It is, rather, the young Calhoun painted by Jarvis and Rembrandt Peale, that handsome and remarkably gifted young man whose rise in politics was meteoric and who, for all his Calvinistic rigidity, intense ambition, relentless industry, and somewhat arrogant self-confidence, could relax on occasion and win admiring tributes as "a most captivating man."

If Mr. Wiltse, whose talent is for exposition rather than vivid narrative, had made use of contemporary descriptive materials his portrait would have been more warmly human. As it is, he succeeds measurably in softening and humanizing "the cast-iron man" as he develops the great theme of this volume. That is, of course, the story of the ardent young nationalist, the War Hawk of 1812 and champion of economic nationalism on the basis of a very liberal interpretation of the Constitution, who in the 1820's made a dramatic about-face, developed the theory of nullification, and for the rest of his life reigned supreme as the champion of state rights and a minority section.

He is very quickly brought on the national stage, all too quickly in this reviewer's opinion. The South Carolina environment and its influence on Calhoun, and the background of the second war with Britain, are inadequately discussed. In half the number of pages given by Meigs, Mr. Wiltse sketches Calhoun's formative years in the democratic and Calvinistic up-country of South Carolina, his education at Yale and the Litchfield Law School in Federalist and Calvinistic Connecticut, his marriage to his wealthy low-country cousin, his brief law practice and legislative service, and his election at twenty-eight to the House of Representatives, where he at once became a War Hawk leader second only to Henry Clay.

Well done is the account of Calhoun's congressional career, his efforts toward a more vigorous prosecution of the War of 1812, and his defense of the Republican majority against "the bitter and sometimes treasonable" Federalist minority. He tried to conciliate New England to the extent of arguing for the repeal of wartime commercial restrictions—and here Mr. Wiltse strains to point a

parallel to Calhoun's defense of minority rights twenty years later in behalf of South Carolina. But on the basic issue of the war itself, and the right of the majority to wage it, Calhoun was adamant, roundly denouncing the state-rights remonstrance of Massachusetts as a declaration of war by one state against the United States.

Clearly, and with analytical skill, Mr. Wiltse shows that not even Clay himself was more ultra-nationalistic during the war years and the decade which followed. The protective tariff of 1816, retention of direct taxes, military and naval establishments, a national bank, and national aid to internal improvements, all were vigorously demanded by a Calhoun who in John Randolph's opinion out-Hamiltoned Alexander Hamilton. The South Carolinian was "no advocate for refined arguments on the Constitution," as he himself declared in 1817. That instrument "ought to be construed with plain good sense" and not regarded "as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on." This nationalistic philosophy guided his conduct as Monroe's secretary of war. He did not openly repudiate it until, after losing out as a presidential contender, he became vice-president in 1825.

The account of Calhoun's admirable administration of the War Department from 1817 to 1825 is detailed and excellent, a real contribution. Mr. Wiltse is much less successful, however, in taking the reader through the tortuous mazes and cutthroat rivalries of presidential politics during the 1820's. He is unduly harsh on Calhoun's rivals, especially John Quincy Adams. After all, not only Adams but many other contemporaries not mentioned by Mr. Wiltse then criticized Calhoun as "a vacillating and unprincipled politician." Such criticism was undoubtedly prejudiced. But by summarily dismissing it or by entirely neglecting at times the provocations for it, the author gives the impression of laboring to keep Calhoun on a pedestal. It is unfortunate that he does not give a franker, more pointed, recognition of the fact that Calhoun, honorable man though he was, no less than his rivals played the game of practical politics. He at times tried to carry water on both shoulders, as when, an ultra-nationalist, he tried to woo state-rights Virginia. He was not above capitalizing the "corrupt bargain" charge of 1825, tolerating if not encouraging the gross abuse of Adams by such lieutenants as McDuffie and Editor Duff Green. Like the much-criticized Adams, he too had a puritan high-mindedness that all too readily attributed base motives to anyone in the way of his ambition: Crawford, the state-rights rival from the South, at first; then Adams and Clay; and later on, Jackson and Van Buren.

The background throughout is concisely drawn, and often with admirable deftness. This is a difficult thing to do in view of the complex, fluid, and varied forces of the period. Conciseness, however, is achieved at the expense of a full-bodied presentation. There is a tendency to oversimplify the complex. One would have liked a fuller discussion of the expanding cotton-slave economy, an awareness of diverse interests in the South and other sections, and a treat-

ment of the democratic-humanitarian movement and of the common man more in harmony with Mr. Wiltse's excellent and understanding treatise on Jeffersonian democracy. There is also a tendency to strike off generalizations that are puzzling if not inaccurate. The reader finds himself questioning such sweeping statements as the one that America was "proletarian" in 1816 (p. 125); or that "in the South there were no common men" (p. 163); or that Kentucky and Ohio were predominantly "industrial" states (pp. 123, 301); or that "a single selfish interest," the industrial, dominated the United States by 1828 (p. 397). Is it true that Calhoun became the champion of all oppressed minorities, as is here implied (p. 398), or that he "was the last of the great political leaders of his time to take a sectional position—later than Webster, later than Clay, later than Adams himself" (p. 234)?

Just when Calhoun abandoned his broad nationalism is still a difficult and complicated question. A turning point, says Mr. Wiltse, was the tariff of 1824, which "showed that no real barrier existed to prevent the majority from voting into their own hands the wealth and property of the nation." It would appear, however, that Calhoun did not then openly avow a change of view. Such avowal did not come until as vice-president he cast his deciding vote against the tariff bill of 1827. Meanwhile, concerned about his presidential prospects following Adams' election in 1825, he had already joined the Crawford and Jackson forces against the Adams administration. "As Adams and Clay carried the National Republicans down the old Federalist road toward centralized power," says Mr. Wiltse, "it became increasingly clear that the Democratic opposition . . . would have to stand for the State Rights position."

This new position taken by Calhoun admirably fitted the exigencies of politics in South Carolina. Until he made the shift his hold on his own state was seriously threatened by his state-rights opponents. In December, 1825, they had succeeded in committing the legislature to strict constructionism, sharply attacking as unconstitutional the nationalistic legislation with which Calhoun had been so prominently identified. The tariff was held responsible for the state's deepening economic distress, and statewide resentment against it had been fanned to a furious intensity.

Mr. Wiltse concludes his study with an analytical account of the abortive scheme by which Calhoun and his colleagues tried to make the tariff of 1828 so abominable as to be unacceptable, of South Carolina's defiant reaction to that tariff's "legalized plunder" and the "gross abuse of power by the majority," and of Calhoun's forging of a weapon against both the tariff and the majority in his *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* of 1828. The tariff was but a point of departure for Calhoun. In his famous *Exposition*, as Mr. Wiltse clearly shows, he outlined the whole theory of government upon which was based his opposition to a growing and, to him and his minority section, a menacing national power. His masterly statement of the state sovereignty theory, with its assertion of the right of nullification, was "a sincere, patriotic and fearless

attempt," says Mr. Wiltse, to solve peacefully a problem which threatened the existence of a Union he genuinely wished to preserve.

Calhoun had keenly analyzed the pressing, and the perennial, problem of reconciling minority rights with majority rule. With impressive ingenuity and logic he had erected his defensive barrier against the majority. Just how effective it was to be will presumably be told by Mr. Wiltse in a second volume. In his closing sentences on the Calhoun of 1828 he gives both a summation and a preview: "His stand was taken, his mind made up, his purpose clear. He rejected the major premise of democracy because he saw that a majority may be the worst of tyrants. He turned his back upon an economic nationalism that was in fact national isolation for the personal profit of a few industrialists, because he foresaw the human misery that such a course must bring. Thenceforward he stood out as the great defender of federal as opposed to centralized government, of cooperation as against coercion; and in the process he made himself the supreme champion of minority rights and interests everywhere."

University of Virginia

BERNARD MAYO

Early Georgia Magazines: Literary Periodicals to 1865. By Bertram Holland Flanders. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944. Pp. xiv, 289. Appendices, bibliography. \$3.00.)

Professor Flanders states that his purpose in writing a history of early Georgia magazines was "to show the extent to which literary periodicals were published in Georgia before 1865, to point out the types of literature included therein, and to indicate the editors and contributors involved." To accomplish this three-fold purpose he has compiled a list of some fifty-seven Georgia periodicals which were either wholly or chiefly literary in character, and has discussed in detail each of the twenty-four of these for which he succeeded in finding adequate files. After an introduction dealing with two early experiments, made before 1820, he divides the remainder of the study somewhat arbitrarily into three chronological groups—1837-1846, 1848-1854, and 1859-1865. Because of the lack of unity within these groupings, however, he disclaims any attempt to draw conclusions relative to the publications appearing within each period. But in a chapter entitled "Summary and Conclusions" he presents for the group as a whole certain generalizations concerning editors, publishers, and contributors; the nature and contents of the magazines; factors influencing their location and success; and a brief analysis of their importance and influence.

It is interesting to note that although the author states that the chief influence in the development of periodical literature in the South was the rise of the sectional spirit, he professes to have found little evidence of sectionalism in the literary periodicals initiated in Georgia between 1838 and 1865. Furthermore, he says, little southern flavor was included in these publications. Only occasionally did a writer attempt to portray the life, institutions, and local charac-

teristics of the region. The Negro, for example, did not appear as subject matter or as background. Nowhere was the idea of a "southern gentleman" stressed by Georgia editors, and only rarely was reference made to southern pride and chivalric ideals. The general motive seems to have been to entertain and instruct rather than to emphasize local or sectional institutions or interests. The themes were usually drawn from those of religion and morality, of early American history, or of love and adventure in European countries; and yet William Carey Richards, alone of these early editors, seems to have been thoroughly conscious of a world literature. The nearest approach to a distinctive contribution to American literature was in the humorous tales by such authors as Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and William Tappan Thompson, which, despite their incongruities and exaggerations, gave realistic pictures of pioneer life in the newly-settled counties of upper Georgia.

On the other hand, one wonders if the apparently deliberate avoidance of the slavery question and of the Negro as a possible literary theme may not have been a manifestation of sectional prejudice. While Professor Flanders suggests such a possibility, he gives only incidental consideration to it. Joseph Addison Turner, for example, who was one of the foremost advocates of a "southern literature" during the period, believed that the Negro should have a prominent place in these early literary attempts; and it was Turner's apprentice, Joel Chandler Harris, who was to use the Negro most effectively after the Civil War in his Uncle Remus stories. But when William Gilmore Simms published "The Loves of a Driver" (a tale which dealt realistically with the amours of a young Negro) in 1841, a critic complained that "the whole texture of society forbids the introduction of such a romance." In the brief controversy which followed it was evident that the southern reading public was unwilling to receive such stories as literature, and the theme was left to the realm of political discussion.

With regard to the geographical distribution of these early periodicals, the study shows that, with the exception of Savannah, the literary activity in the state was confined to Middle Georgia. Fleet Street, so to speak, stretched from Augusta to Columbus, in a belt from fifty to one hundred miles wide. Small and relatively cheap magazines sprang up in various county seats where writers felt the urge to entertain their neighbors. These local centers of literary interest coincide with other cultural indices such as educational institutions, low illiteracy rates, communication facilities, the presence of towns and villages, and an incipient urban leisure.

The study also shows that in comparison with the best periodicals in other sections those of Georgia cannot rank high, but that they are probably not below the general average for the country as a whole. The fact that none of them continued regular publication for more than five years, however, indicates a lack of support which may constitute a reflection upon the agrarian culture of the region. In explaining their failure to attain either permanence or distinction, the author lists such factors as the lack of large literary centers, the predominant

interest in political controversy, the lack of good business management on the part of the editors, the fact that authorship had not become a profession in the South, and the fact that northern publishers had better facilities for printing, illustrating, and distributing their periodicals, even in the southern market.

Of special value to bibliographers, collectors, and research workers in the field are the three appendices and the listing, in connection with each of the twenty-four magazines discussed, of the libraries in which files may be found. The first two appendices contain what appear to be complete lists of the literary and the non-literary Georgia magazines for the period, including places and dates of publication and names of editors and publishers. The third presents an alphabetical list of the contributors to the literary periodicals, indicating the journals to which they contributed and identifying so far as possible the users of pseudonymous signatures. A thirteen-page bibliography of the published material (exclusive of the magazines themselves) and more than nine hundred footnotes attest the extensiveness of the research and documentation.

From the point of view of the historian it is gratifying to note the extent to which the author has made use of county histories recently published in Georgia and of census reports in rounding out the broader discussion of this phase of the state's history. Many users of the volume will regret that the quaint and provincial, along with the humor attached to them, have been neglected. Little attempt has been made to vitalize the mass of information collected or to exploit the human interest angle. The study is workmanlike and encyclopedic, rather than interesting and readable; but it was not calculated to command the interest of the general reader. Professor Flanders has done a thorough job of collecting and recording, and as a research aid and a finding list his book is a worthy achievement.

Georgia State College for Women

JAMES C. BONNER

The First Lincoln Campaign. By Reinhard H. Luthin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944. Pp. viii, 328. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

If this book carried the customary ponderous academic title, it would doubtless read *The Election of 1860 with Special Reference to the Republican Party and Abraham Lincoln*. Professor Luthin of Columbia University has discussed the struggle of 1860 "as seen through the focus of the Republican leaders and their organization. . . ." As a result the Democratic and southern phases of the election receive but brief treatment. The book retraces in part the story of Lincoln's nomination as told by Ray and Baringer and amplifies and supplants the earlier study of the election of 1860 by Fite. It is not, because of its limitations of "plot," the final word on the most momentous election in our history. But within its limitations it is a solid work of scholarship and research (sixty-five manuscript collections and fifty-five newspapers are cited), a contribution to the study of Lincoln and the Civil War, and at present the best one-

volume work on the election. The author has become one of the authorities on Lincoln.

Professor Luthin first discusses the rise of the Republican party with its "perplexing variety" of men and beliefs bound together by a common hostility to the Democrats and a common desire to taste the fruits of political power. Sketches of the contenders for the Republican nomination follow: Seward, chief of the antislavery Whigs; Chase, champion of the free Democrats; Bates, a pillar of border state conservatism; Lincoln, the anti-Nebraska Whig of the prairies; Cameron, a conservative protectionist; and the lesser candidates, Banks, Dayton, McLean, and others. The nomination of Lincoln, states the author, was "the triumph of availability." At the Republican convention the doubtful states that the Republicans had to carry to win convinced the Republican bosses that Seward would lose these states. As a result, "the leading candidate was dropped and a lesser known but less controversial figure was chosen."

After getting Lincoln nominated and noting the bitter dissensions in the Democratic party between southern and Douglas Democrats, Dr. Luthin describes the election itself and analyzes the results. The outcome hung on New York, for even if Lincoln carried every other northern state he would lack a majority without New York, and the election would be thrown into Congress. Vigorous and shrewd work by Thurlow Weed and the Republican machine and the failure of the anti-Lincoln forces to effect a fusion until too late won the Empire State and the election for the Republicans.

The author makes these generalizations about the election: The sectional Republican party was more anti-Democratic than anti-southern. Its desire to secure control of the government was the principal cohesive force binding the party together. While the Republicans opposed the extension of slavery, they did so primarily because of political, economic, and vote-getting reasons instead of moral ones. In the campaign they talked quite as much, if not more, about homesteads, the tariff, the Pacific railroad, and internal improvements as about slavery. Lincoln and his party, the victors in 1860, did not represent a majority of the voters, nor did they represent "what was in the minds of the American people." The people were conservative and opposed to a northern sectional minority. The Republicans won because they were united while the opposition was divided three ways. The inability of the Democrats to unite against Lincoln is a fascinating story in political behaviorism. Northern Buchanan Democrats hated Douglas as bitterly as did their southern colleagues. Indiana's Jesse Bright preferred the election of Lincoln to a coalition with the detested Douglasites.

Two criticisms of the book are offered. It is too short. The story Professor Luthin has to tell is important and more space is needed. Too often his facts are packed wheel to wheel like military vehicles in a narrow sector and nothing stands out from the unbroken monotony. The story is also vividly dramatic but the author has let little of this creep into his too sober narrative.

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. Pp. x, 401. Bibliography. \$3.75.)

If warned in advance that a thesis has been deemed worthy of a prize by a patriotic society, as this one was, the reviewer is at once alert with suspicion. A perusal of this volume, however, is disillusioning. The only evidence of "soft-peddalling" is the tenderness with which President Davis is handled. Otherwise there appear none of the weaknesses of most narratives of the Confederate government. The author does not fall into J. L. M. Curry's superficial reasoning that because Judah P. Benjamin because an illustrious British jurist and John H. Reagan a man of political eminence after the War, they were necessarily paragons of genius as Confederate administrators.

Unfortunately the historian of the Confederacy, having no Gideon Welles, Salmon P. Chase, and Edward Bates to record cabinet discussions, must rely on the private correspondence of the secretaries, testimony before congressional hearings, and tittle-tattle, such as that of J. B. Jones. But Dr. Patrick has built up a substantial structure from such sources as are available. Indeed, his coverage of correspondence is commendable, as are his gleanings from contemporary newspapers of the South. As a result, his biography of each of the two dozen cabinet members is a real contribution to our knowledge of the period.

Although some will disagree with him, Mr. Patrick feels justified in concluding that Davis did as well or better as president as any other Southerner could have done (p. 45); that Memminger was a mere creature of circumstances in forging his financial policy (pp. 220, 226-28); that Benjamin was not officious (pp. 169-70); and that Davis did not reduce his cabinet officers to "mere clerks" (pp. 43, 59). The author holds the belief, shared by many, that the cabinet was superior to the Congress in ability, wisdom, and patriotism, although its great "aristocrat," George Wythe Randolph, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson, upon retiring from the secretaryship of war after a very brief tenure, "saw the possibilities of a lucrative practice in defending men who claimed exemption from military service" (p. 130). The fact that the few planter-class representatives in the cabinet (Toombs, Walker, Hunter, Randolph) held office for but short periods is the chief reason why Davis was charged with preferring more humble colleagues whom he could dominate.

Dr. Patrick refers to a fact which during the War, and later, caused sorrow to sincere Southerners. Practically all of the newspapers of the Confederacy, including the five Richmond dailies, were unfavorable to the administration after the first few months other than for incidental support on particular issues. Whether this phenomenon was the result of southern individualism and democratic independence, or was merely evidence of disintegration, he does not say.

The volume is an important contribution to the history of the Confederacy, which will appeal to the scholar rather than to the general reader.

Southern Methodist University

HARRISON A. TREXLER

"First With the Most" Forrest. By Robert Selph Henry. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944. Pp. 558. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$4.00.)

Nathan Bedford Forrest was probably the greatest natural soldier in the history of warfare. He had no professional training as a soldier but intuitively and instinctively he both knew and understood the art of command. Almost from the moment that he assumed command of his first small unit, he concentrated on the problems of logistics, tactics, and strategy in that order. Strategic decisions were not within his province but his letters to his superiors prove his understanding. Tactics and logistics were his field and in both he was a master. Unlike most amateurs in war, he made the problems of transportation, quartering, and supply his first concern both in regard to his own troops and in his strikes against the enemy.

Mr. Henry, a railroad man by profession, has concentrated his attention on Forrest's technique. The American Civil War was primarily a war for lines of communication and transportation, and it was the first war in which railroads played a predominant part. Forrest, like Sherman, was a realist in war. He was in the true American military tradition from Washington to Marshall and Eisenhower. This tradition does not exclude courage, daring, and color, but it concentrates upon the prosaic art of getting there first with the most. Forrest fought many battles and skirmishes in which the enemy had nominally superior forces, but he never accepted battle when the decision was his unless either through surprise or through more effective technical employment the real superiority was on his side.

Mr. Henry's accounts of the numerous battles are clear and easily followed, but his chief interest has been in the campaigns, their conception and execution. In fact, the only adverse criticism to be made of the book is the absence of any detailed battle sketches. The maps show the general areas and the lines of communication, but they are not on adequate scale to show tactical detail. Forrest has long been known as a colorful and picturesque character, but Mr. Henry's treatment has been prosaic and technical. It is a tribute both to the subject and to the author's clear, simple, and detailed style that the total impression conveyed by the book is one of color and dynamic leadership.

Although this is a biography, written by a civilian who was a citizen soldier in World War I, of a civilian in uniform in the Civil War with a staff composed of technically untrained men who were in the army only because of the war, yet it is almost a textbook in the art of war and command. It indicates that the American belief in a citizen army springing to arms for the defense of the

country is not as illogical and unrealistic as some would have us think. Military problems and technique are an important part of history, and teachers of history should find this book an excellent means through which to capture the interest and stimulate the thinking of their students.

Headquarters, Second Army
Memphis, Tennessee

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Fighting Joe Hooker. By Walter H. Hebert. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944. Pp. 366. Illustrations, bibliography, \$3.50.)

On the last day of April in 1863 General Joseph Hooker completed the transfer of the larger part of his Army of the Potomac to the south side of the Rappahannock River above Fredericksburg, where Lee's greatly outnumbered Army of Northern Virginia lay in its entrenchments. His crossing of the river fords had been but lightly opposed, and he had been able to concentrate his force at Chancellorsville in a formidable flanking position. Gloatingly he issued a General Order to the Army of the Potomac in which he boasted that he had now got Lee into such a hopelessly indefensible position that he "must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." To a newspaper correspondent he incautiously declared that "The Rebel army . . . is now the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac"; and in still another interview he declaimed: "the enemy is in my power, and God Almighty can not deprive me of them." These indiscreet boasts would have been in bad enough taste if they had been followed by the predicted great victory. But when a few days later he was crushingly defeated by the combined genius of Lee and Jackson and sent reeling back across the Rappahannock, the public and the administration at Washington were so greatly shocked by the unexpected catastrophe that Hooker's summary removal from the head of the army immediately followed.

This was a conspicuous example—but by no means the only one—of Hooker's unfortunate propensity for causing himself trouble by oral indiscretion. He had a quick temper and a sharp tongue, and the combination of the two led him into frequent difficulties during his long military career. These unfortunate traits were apparent in his early life; and, coupled with his instability of character and his intemperance, kept him in constant hot water. His nickname of "Fighting Joe" was a well-deserved reflection of his innate and highly developed pugnacity; but, as one of his fellow officers testily remarked, "He spends as much time fighting with our generals as he does fighting the enemy." When he was a subordinate he was constantly quarreling with his superiors—and generally trying to undermine them at Washington. When he was in supreme command he quarreled with and blamed his subordinates. But he was a fighter; he had the knack of keeping himself and his division or corps or army in the spotlight; and

the public believed in him, no matter how much the other Federal generals mistrusted him.

It is a strange thing that such an incandescent figure as Hooker should not have attracted the talents of some biographer long before this, and Mr. Hebert has made a real contribution to historical literature in filling this biographical gap. His book is no such exhaustive, definitive work as, say, Freeman's *Lee*; but it serves to give a fair and readable account of the stormy life of a man who played a big part in the history of the 1860's and whose career was touched with flashes of brilliance. Hooker has had the misfortune of being overrated by his contemporaneous admirers and underrated by his detractors, prominent among whom were Grant and Sherman. Mr. Hebert has earnestly tried to re-construct the real Hooker from the fables of tradition and his effort has been measurably successful. He has fallen into the popular error of exaggerating Hooker's part in the battle of Missionary Ridge—his so-called "Battle Above the Clouds"—and his feeble and ineffectual pursuit of Bragg's retreating rearguard. In the main, however, he gives a reliable picture of his hero, showing his feet of clay as well as his slightly synthetic halo.

Nashville, Tennessee

STANLEY F. HORN

Ranger Mosby. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. xiii, 347. Illustrations, \$3.50.)

The War of Secession bore a certain marked resemblance to the Civil War in England a little more than two centuries before. In the English war the Cavaliers were the romanticists, with their flowing locks and their multi-colored doublets; the Roundheads were sober and unpicturesque. In the end, the unromantic prevailed over the romantic. In 1861-1865, the Confederate army contained hundreds of colorful figures, interesting individualists of a dozen styles. Of these the two most colorful were John H. Morgan and John S. Mosby, the proprietor of "Mosby's Confederacy." On the other hand the entire Union service had only one colorful figure, Custer of the yellow curls and the velvet jacket. Grant, Sherman, *et al.* were grim, ugly, uninteresting. Cavaliers and Roundheads all over again.

The legend of Mosby grew to be one of the prides of the war. The defeated, around the fireside at night, exulted in Mosby's feats in cutting up outposts, attacking convoys, and capturing sleepy Union generals in their beds. Mosby, at least, made the enemy seem fools. It was consolation. All the aged farmers in northern Virginia claimed to have been Mosby's men, which some of them no doubt were.

Mosby was romance incarnate as he sent out his secret summons to his followers to gather for a raid. His men, putting aside their daily working clothes and their usual occupations, became transformed in a moment into soldiers, that is, into guerrillas. Then would come the wild night ride along the

roads of lovely Loudoun County, the attack on the outpost, the shots, the cries, the withdrawal with or without booty. It was a wonderful excitement.

Mosby's raids were a conspicuous feature of the war, and they had a certain nuisance value, since wagon trains were likely to be attacked if insufficiently guarded; but the fact remains that present-day military criticism attaches little importance to Mosby's operations. Some Confederate generals, particularly Early, thought that they did the cause more harm than good. It is probable that Mosby's men would have been of more service as regular cavalry than as partisans.

Mosby was intimate with Stuart and seems to have influenced the cavalry leader, perhaps unfortunately. The author claims that Mosby incited Stuart's ride around McClellan in June, 1862. If so, he did Lee a disservice since Lee's strategy at the opening of the Seven Days was based on the plan of sundering the Union communications with the base at the White House on Pamunkey River. Stuart, by alarming the Union general for his communications, speeded McClellan's withdrawal to James River.

Another, undoubtedly authentic and unfortunate suggestion, was the plan that Mosby laid before Stuart, in June, 1863, at the beginning of the Gettysburg campaign. Lee, about to cross the Potomac, wished Stuart to cover the movement; but Mosby suggested a ride through the widely separated corps of the Union army and a crossing of the river at Seneca, eastward of the mountains. Stuart attempted the plan, with the result that he cut entirely loose from Lee, who was for some days left in ignorance of the Union movements. Mosby, in late life, wrote a book to prove that Stuart's ride was not a mistake, but it is hardly convincing.

The present work is a popular biography rather than a military treatise. This is just as well, for a scientific study of Mosby would scarcely be worth while. The author brings out in full the character of the noted raider: daring, resourceful, commanding, resentful of strict discipline. Mosby was an individualist of the purest type; he could never have served happily under anybody else. He remained an individualist to the last, going his own way regardless of his environment, becoming a frustrated, unfortunate victim of political dissent.

The book is tuned to the right tempo. Mosby was a romance, and Mr. Jones has faithfully rendered the romance. Written in flowing newspaper style, it makes Mosby's feats live and glow. There is nothing dull or pedantic to bore the reader. It is a good story. You get the atmosphere of Loudoun County, incomparable countryside, and you see the raiders gathering for their work. Too many monographs are unreadable; *Ranger Mosby* is as entertaining as any "mystery" tale. Some of the details are inaccurate; that matters little. When you close the book you feel that you have been entertained by a fine yarn, and agreeably instructed as well.

Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command. Volume III, *Gettysburg to Appomattox*. By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. Pp. xlvii, 862. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$5.00.)

In this volume Dr. Freeman completes his three-volume *Study in Command* by dealing with the last two years of the Confederate defense of Richmond as it relates to Lee and his lieutenants. He has reconstructed the view which the Confederate generals had at the time of the battles for the Confederate capital. It is a story that will be new to many readers, told without fanfare or heroics, but told sympathetically and understandingly against a background of extensive and thorough research and study.

The first two volumes of this work dealt with the organization and command of Lee's army in victory. This final volume describes and analyzes the greatness of that army in defeat. It deals with the destruction of a nation, and traces the course of the Army of Northern Virginia from high noon to the final setting of its sun and the resultant darkness of defeat and despair. Perhaps defeat was caused in part by the decline of Confederate man power, by limited Confederate resources, and by the failure of the Confederate military system to develop leaders of sufficient ability to replace those who failed to measure up to the requirements of command, or who were killed or disabled by wounds or sickness. The erosion of leadership in the Army of Northern Virginia accelerated after Chancellorsville, the Wilderness campaign, and the battles about Richmond and in the Shenandoah Valley. Men who had come to responsible command were stricken and their successors were untried, unprepared, or even unfit for new and added responsibilities. In the end, battle lines were stretched so thin and capable leaders were so few that the bond which held the Confederacy together finally snapped.

Dr. Freeman uses the development of army command as a means of tying together the Confederate biographies of Lee's lieutenants and of showing why one failed and another succeeded. One of his conclusions is that "it was plain that a good general had been a good officer from the time of his first commission," but it was equally obvious that a man did not make a good general simply because he had been a good captain or colonel. Likewise, men who make good generals when subject to Lee's firm and intelligent control did not always succeed as independent commanders. This is strikingly illustrated in the case of Longstreet when he went to Bragg's army in Tennessee and later commanded independently in East Tennessee, and in the case of Hood as Joseph E. Johnston's successor in command of the Confederate Army of Tennessee. Dr. Freeman concludes that the experience of Lee's army demonstrates, so far as may be, that professional training in arms is essential for men who are to exercise command, but that such training does not guarantee success as a combat officer. "Command was essentially a gamble." Lee did not hesitate to relieve incompetent or

temperamentally unfit commanders, though at times he was hampered in finding suitable successors because of statute limitations or lack of suitable material.

Another problem that constantly plagued Lee was the amazing number of bitter quarrels among high-ranking Confederate officers. As the arbiter and judge, he had to use all his powers of persuasion to keep his proud lieutenants working together. To add to his problems, Lee was forced to reorganize the high command after almost every major engagement. Jackson's loss was fatal. As Dr. Freeman writes: "The price of victory at Chancellorsville was defeat at Gettysburg." Jackson was not only a talented strategist and skillful tactician, but was also a capable executive officer who took much of the burden of command from Lee's shoulders. Neither Longstreet, Ewell, Early, nor A. P. Hill could fill Jackson's place.

As the preceding volume was concerned principally with Jackson, this third volume centers, in large measure, on Longstreet. Justice is done to the lieutenant about whom long and bitter controversy has raged. Longstreet, the realist and skeptic, was right about Gettysburg when Lee was wrong, but he did much to contribute to the losing of the battle because he did not approve of it. Longstreet owed much of his success to Lee's firm and sympathetic control, but he was prone to be insubordinate and he suffered from an excess of strategical conceptions. A. P. Hill lacked Longstreet's breadth of vision and Jackson's executive ability, but as the last of the trio of Lee's corps commanders, was strong on both the offensive and the defensive. Jeb Stuart brought to the leadership of the cavalry new ideas and methods.

Throughout these three volumes the character, personality, and leadership of Lee as a man and a general illumine every campaign and battle. Lee's spirit "pervaded and dominated every rank, grade and arm." A valuable attribute of Lee was his ability to attract to his command capable and brilliant young men. His discernment singled them out, and by precept and example he inspired their best efforts. Among these were the two Pegrams—John, the cavalry leader, and William, the brilliant young artilleryman—, Ramseur, "Sandy" Pendleton, who refused promotion to the rank of general because he believed he could be of greater service as a staff officer, Rosser and Stuart, cavalry leaders of the first order, and the "gallant" Pelham, Dearing, Pender, and Gordon. Most of these leaders died on the field of battle, and all of them were wounded one or more times. The loss or disablement of these inspiring leaders had much to do with the final defeat of Lee and his army. "At desperate hours, when soldiers most needed intelligent direction, many of their officers took chances more desperate, and, falling, made disaster complete."

Lee's "incomparable infantry" composed the backbone of his army. The Wilderness campaign, though technically a Confederate victory, was achieved at such a loss of men as to constitute a defeat. Although Lee's strategy and tactics were of an unusually high order and the heroism of his men unquestioned, the

character of the Federal leadership and the immense growth in northern resources showed that Confederate military genius and fortitude were not enough.

In concluding a careful reading of the three volumes, one cannot but marvel at two things: the steadfastness and inspiring character of Lee as a man and soldier; and the thoroughness with which the relations of Lee and his lieutenants have been studied and evaluated. Since Dr. Freeman is interested primarily in personalities and their interrelationship, he has sought to determine why one man succeeded and another failed. He has also presented "a study in command" solely as it concerned Lee and Virginia; and in doing so, he has neglected the contributions, physical, material, and moral, made to Lee and Virginia by regions elsewhere in the Confederacy. Success and failure in other parts of the South vitally affected the effectiveness of Lee's leadership in Virginia. Nearly three-fourths of the leaders and the men whom they led came from beyond the confines of Virginia; moreover, the origin of the supplies and munitions that enabled Lee to fight effectively is not given consideration. In fact, for Dr. Freeman, Virginia and the Confederacy are synonymous and exclusive. The rest of the Confederacy, by implication, contributed little to Lee's success or to the four-year defense of Richmond.

A few such inadequacies of treatment, however, cannot change the fact that these three volumes present a record of heroes and heroism, of devotion, fortitude, patience, and loyalty, which constitutes a precious and enduring heritage not only to the South but to all the nation; and at the same time they constitute an outstanding contribution to American military history.

Locust Valley, New York

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. Pp. xii, 577. Illustrations, bibliography. \$4.50.)

One is generally hesitant to characterize a biography as definitive but the reviewer is inclined to the view that this one probably is. So thorough and exhaustive has been Mr. Simkins' research and so impartial his interpretations that it seems unlikely that his task will ever need redoing. His ten and a fraction pages of "Critical Essay on Authorities" and his extensive documentation evince an unusually wide scope of investigation. He is just as free and frank in explaining Tillman's vices and shortcomings as he is interpreting his virtues.

The author begins with the indubitable assumption that "Ben Tillman led the most significant transformation in the political life of South Carolina since Reconstruction." But he is by no means certain that this transformation, with all that it came to imply, was more of a blessing than otherwise. He even quotes Tillman, himself, in his late years, in view of the mediocrity and worse of his successors (referring especially to Blease), as doubtful "of the wisdom of

having emancipated these 'wool-hat, one-gallus' men from the domination of the oligarchy" (pp. 550-51).

Tillman came from the up-country planter class—his parents having owned a hundred slaves—but in no sense from the aristocracy; the family was too crude, too completely lacking in the culture and social graces that were essential to the latter. Five of his six brothers were killed in the Civil War. In July, 1864, when he was sixteen, he withdrew from a private academy to join the Southern army; but in less than a week he was stricken with an abscess in the left eye. After months of intense suffering he had the inflamed eye removed. The empty socket added to his already crude and ungainly appearance, which turned out to be an asset in his later appeals to the "wool-hat" boys.

During the agricultural depression of the 1880's he placed himself at the head of the farmer movement in South Carolina in opposition to the do-nothing policies of the "Bourbon" Democracy. The movement was able to overthrow Wade Hampton and the other "Bourbons." Ben Tillman served two terms as governor and was elected to the United States Senate.

Despite the crude, uncouth belligerency of his public utterances Tillman was not very radical. He never accepted in full the platforms of the Farmers' Alliance. He refused to accept the subtreasury plan or government ownership of railroads. His achievements in South Carolina, with one exception, were remarkably like those of the contemporary agrarian movement in other southern states. He was chiefly responsible for the founding of the Clemson (A. & M.) College and of Winthrop (Woman's) College, designed primarily for the training of public school teachers. He ever after took great pride in the growth and achievements of these institutions. He achieved the establishment of a state railway commission, with power to establish rates, subject to judicial review. He led in an effort, only partially successful, to raise the taxes on railroads and other corporations. His legislature made the first limitation in the state on hours of labor in the mills, having to compromise on sixty-five hours per week.

One of the acts of the Tillman administrations of which he was especially proud was the forestalling of a move for statewide prohibition by the establishment of the dispensary system, in which South Carolina was unique in that period. It was largely similar to the more recent alcoholic beverage control systems, now operating with widely praised results in several of our states. The dispensary was maintained for twelve years until it went down with the tidal wave of statewide prohibition that swept the South.

Another act in which Tillman took special pride was the new state constitution of 1895, whereby the Negro vote was virtually eliminated. The test for qualification was the ability to read and write, or to interpret a clause in the Constitution, or on demand to do both. Illiterate whites could qualify by explaining a very simple clause read to them. Negroes, literate or illiterate, could be disqualified by being given a particularly difficult clause on which Philadelphia lawyers might disagree. This eliminated most of the Negroes from

suffrage. And the rise of the white primary did the rest. Tillman's extreme prejudice against the Negro is explained, though not excused, by the author earlier in the book by his disagreeable experiences in assisting in the overthrow of the Reconstruction governments and later in maintaining white supremacy in a state predominantly Negro. Another result of the constitutional convention of 1895 was the redistricting of the state, thereby shifting political power more effectively to the up-country.

In the Senate, Tillman did little that was outstanding. During most of his senatorial career his party was out of power. On one occasion during these years was he in an outstanding position. He was called upon by President Theodore Roosevelt to lead in the fight for the Hepburn rate bill through the Senate, the reason being that the leading Republicans were hostile to the bill as Roosevelt and apparently most of the Democrats wanted it passed. Tillman responded with alacrity, though for some years he had not been on speaking terms with the President. They acted through a mutual friend. Tillman, after months of debate and political manipulation, thought he had enough votes in line for the measure as desired, and sent such word to Roosevelt. But the latter seems to have known better. So he arranged for a compromise with the leading Republican "Railroad" senators, which weakened the force of the bill. Tillman, enraged but aware of the necessity of restraint, presented the facts as he saw them before the Senate in a carefully prepared paper, but it was hard enough on the President. From the White House came the charge that it "was a deliberate and unqualified falsehood." "This," says the author, "was the beginning of what the newspapers playfully called the Ananias club" (p. 436).

Perhaps a word should be said of the origin of the term "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman. Although he seems to have used the term numbers of times before as representing a homely farmer's weapon, the use that seems to have attached it in the public mind permanently to his name was in his first race for the senatorship. After berating Grover Cleveland's "sell out" to the gold bugs and Wall Street crowd, he said, "When Judas betrayed Christ . . . his heart was not blacker than that scoundrel, Cleveland, in deceiving the Democracy. . . . He is an old bag of beef and I am going to Washington with a pitchfork and prod him in his old fat ribs" (p. 315. See also footnotes pp. 315-16).

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

ALEX M. ARNETT

Historical News and Notices

The following committee appointments for 1945 have been made by Fletcher M. Green, president of the Southern Historical Association. *Committee on Program*: Daniel M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, chairman; James C. Bonner, Georgia State College for Women; Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi; Francis B. Simkins, State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia; and Ross H. McLean, Emory University, in charge of program on European history. *Committee on Nominations*: Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College, chairman; Minnie Clare Boyd, Mississippi State College for Women; Robert D. Meade, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University; Rosser H. Taylor, Furman University. *Committee on Membership*: Ottis C. Skipper, Northwestern State College (Louisiana), chairman; John D. Barnhart, Indiana University; Clarence V. Bruner, Tennessee Polytechnic Institute; Charles E. Cauthen, Wofford College; Ollinger Crenshaw, Washington and Lee University; Calvin H. Curry, Quincy, Florida; Claude Elliott, San Marcos (Texas) State College; James S. Ferguson, Millsaps College; Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College; William A. Mabry, Mount Union College; Garnie W. McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute; S. Walter Martin, University of Georgia; Joseph H. Parks, Birmingham-Southern College; James H. Poteet, Western Kentucky State Teachers College; James G. Randall, University of Illinois; Carl C. Rister, University of Oklahoma; Festus P. Summers, West Virginia University; Austin L. Venable, University of Arkansas. *Committee on Local Arrangements*: Henry T. Shanks, Birmingham-Southern College, chairman; other members to be named by the chairman.

PERSONAL

William T. Laprade, professor of history at Duke University, has been made managing editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* and acting director of the Duke University Press.

J. Ralph Thaxton, professor of history at the University of Georgia, has been appointed registrar at that institution, effective January 1, 1945.

Thomas Cary Johnson has returned to his position as professor of history at the University of Virginia after having been in the service since 1941 as a lieutenant commander in the Navy.

Robert L. Hildrup, of East Carolina Teachers College, accepted an appoint-

ment as professor of history at Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, beginning in September, 1944.

Preston W. Edsall, formerly connected with the National Archives and more recently a member of the war-training staff of North Carolina State College, has accepted a position as professor of government at East Carolina Teachers College, effective January 1, 1945.

T. Harry Williams has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history at Louisiana State University.

Elmer Ellis, professor of history at the University of Missouri now on leave for military service, has been appointed vice-president of the University of Missouri. He will assume his new duties when he is released from the Army.

George E. Mowry, associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina on leave for work with the War Production Board, has accepted an appointment as the Mary Treat Morrison professor of American history at Mills College, Oakland, California.

William D. McCain, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History now on leave for service in the Army, has been appointed United States archivist in Italy.

George Bauerlein, Jr. has resigned as assistant professor of history at North Carolina State College, effective March 1, to enter business in Alabama.

At the University of Missouri, Charles F. Mullett has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester to continue his research in eighteenth century intellectual history; Thomas A. Brady has been placed on a part-time teaching status for the year; and Lewis E. Atherton has been appointed chairman of the department of history for 1944-1945.

Earl F. Cruickshank, who has been on leave of absence for military service since 1942, has resigned his position as associate professor of European history at Vanderbilt University.

Announcements of temporary appointments to the staffs of departments of history have been made as follows: at Florida State College for Women, Helen Sharp (Mrs. C. K.) Herring; at Birmingham-Southern College, Evelyn Wiley; at Duke University, C. C. Montgomery; at the University of Mississippi, Philip Ralph; at the University of Texas, Amelia W. Williams, Lucien E. Peevy, John H. Hill, and John N. Cravens.

James Curtis Ballagh, who in 1896 inaugurated at Johns Hopkins University the first college course dealing specifically with the history of the South, died on September 28, 1944, at the age of seventy-six. A native of Virginia and a

graduate of Washington and Lee University, he taught at Tulane University before taking the doctorate at Johns Hopkins University in 1895. From 1895 to 1913 he was successively instructor, associate professor, and professor of history at Johns Hopkins, and since 1913 he has been professor and professor emeritus of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. His principal publications in the field of southern history include *White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia* (1895) and *A History of Slavery in Virginia* (1902). He also edited the two volumes on southern economic history (Vols. V and VI) in *The South in the Building of the Nation* (1910) and *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (2 vols., 1911-1913), and was for several years co-editor of the *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Ellery Lewis Hall, assistant professor of history at the University of Kentucky, died on October 8, 1944, in Lexington. A native of Kentucky, he received his A. B. and M. A. degrees from the University of Kentucky, and had completed much of the work for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin. His field of interest was British history.

Robert Watson Winston, former judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, died at Chapel Hill on October 14 at the age of eighty-four. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1879, and after a successful career as lawyer, legislator, and jurist he re-entered the University as a student in 1920 to prepare himself "to interpret the New South to the Nation." In the years that followed he published *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (1928), *High Stakes and Hair Trigger: The Life of Jefferson Davis* (1930), *Robert E. Lee—A Biography* (1934), and his autobiography, *It's a Far Cry* (1937).

John Stewart Bryan, chancellor and former president of the College of William and Mary, and publisher of the *Richmond News Leader* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, died in Richmond on October 16 at the age of seventy-four. In the midst of a distinguished career as publisher and college administrator he showed his interest in southern history through his sponsorship of the *William and Mary Historical Quarterly*, his service as president of the Virginia Historical Society, his membership in the Southern Historical Association, his collection of Virginiana, and his encouragement of historical activities among his associates. His own published works—*Joseph Bryan* (1935) and *Diary of John Randolph Bryan* (1941)—deal with the history of his family.

Wallace Morse True, assistant professor of history at Florida State College for Women, died on November 17 at Tallahassee. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College (1931), and received his M. A. (1933) and Ph.D. (1939) degrees from Harvard University, specializing in the field of modern European history. He had taught at Howard College, Birmingham, before going to Florida State College for Women in 1943.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The committee of the American Historical Association appointed to award the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for 1945 desires to call attention to the terms of the award. This prize, which carries a stipend of \$200, is awarded in the odd-numbered years for a book or manuscript on the history of the United States or of other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The terms of the competition, as defined by the Association, state that in awarding the prizes, "the committee in charge will consider not only research accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation." Entries for the 1945 competition must be submitted prior to June 1, 1945. By the rules of the competition, printed works can be considered for the 1945 prize only if the date of publication falls between December 1, 1942, and June 1, 1945. Entries should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Professor Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists, held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on November 8 and 9, Margaret C. Norton, Illinois state archivist, was re-elected president, Christopher Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, was named vice-president, Lester J. Cappon, of the University of Virginia, and Helen Chatfield, archivist of the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., were re-elected as secretary and treasurer, respectively, and Howard Peckham, of the William L. Clements Library, was elected to the council for a five-year term.

The ninth annual meeting of the Florida Academy of Sciences was held November 24-25 at Rollins College, Winter Park. Among papers read in the social sciences section were: "Industry and Agriculture in Territorial Florida," by Dena Snodgrass, of Jacksonville; "Early Political Life of Governor Bloxham," by Ruby Leach Carson, of Miami; "The Confederacy, a Pattern of International Organization," by Marian Irish, of the Florida State College for Women; "Steamboat Pioneering on the Western Rivers (1811-1824)," by C. Herbert Laub, of the University of Tampa; "Travel in the Continent of Florida," by Herbert M. Corse, president of the Jacksonville Historical Society; "Some Aspects of the History of Citrus in Florida," by T. Ralph Robinson, of Terra Ceia; "An Introduction to the History of Medicine in Duval County, Florida," by Webster Merritt, of Jacksonville; "Alexander McGillivray, Who Put Not His Trust in Princes," by Marian Morse, of the Palm Beach Junior College; and "A Survey of Florida Newspapers and Periodicals, a Project of the Union Catalog of Floridiana," by Clarence Drake, of Rollins College.

The East Tennessee Historical Society held its annual banquet meeting in Knoxville on October 19, with Thomas D. Clark, of the University of Ken-

tucky, as the speaker, his subject being "The Country Store in Tennessee." Announcement was made that the McClung Award for 1944, a prize of \$50 for the best article in the current issue of the Society's annual *Publications*, had been granted to Joseph H. Parks, of Birmingham-Southern College, for his "John Bell and Secession." The committee of judges consisted of Philip D. Jordan, Miami University, Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina, and Grace Lee Nute, Minnesota Historical Society.

Other recent programs of the Society include a paper by Harvey Broome, of Knoxville, on "Knox County Government, 1792-1860," at the December meeting, and one by Pollyanna Creekmore, of the Lawson McGhee Library, on "Life in Knoxville under Confederate Rule, 1860-1863," presented at the meeting in January.

At the October meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society, Lionel C. Durel presented a paper on "The French Country Press of Louisiana." In November, Isaac Joslin Cox discussed "West Florida: The Evolution of a Book on Local History." The December meeting of the society was a reception in honor of the one hundred and forty-first anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, and on January 8 the Society held its annual banquet in commemoration of the battle of New Orleans.

Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee has been appointed chairman of a committee of the Florida Historical Society for observing the centennial of Florida's admission to the Union. Associated with him as sub-chairmen of special committees are William T. Cash, state librarian, David E. Smiley, editor of the *Tampa Times*, Alfred J. Hanna of Rollins College, and R. L. Goulding of Florida State College for Women.

Programs of recent meetings of the Tennessee Historical Society include the following papers: "The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White," by L. Paul Gresham (November); "The Growth of Tennessee Counties," by Walter F. Pond (December); and "Some Phases of the Sisterhood of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth States," by Alfred L. Crabb (January). At the annual business meeting of the Society, held in December, all officers were re-elected for the year 1945.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The McGregor Library of the University of Virginia has recently acquired a collection of approximately three thousand items relating to the Pocket Plantation, Pittsylvania County, Virginia, covering the period from about 1740 to 1880. The papers represent the business and personal records of the two families which were connected with the plantation during those years and include data on tobacco growing, hemp growing, iron manufacturing, routine plantation activities, and much that is typical of the dealings of the planters

with Scotch tobacco merchants. There are also many legal and business papers relating to Albemarle County in the seventeenth century, to the estate of Peter Jefferson, and to other prominent families of the region, among them a letter written to Governor Robert Dinwiddie by George Washington on July 18, 1755, describing Braddock's defeat. A second group contains many Revolutionary War records pertaining to Pittsylvania and Bedford counties, including tables of money depreciation and lists of requisitions for food and clothing for the Revolutionary army. For the period after 1828 there are doctor's account books, overseer's agreements, slave accounts, materials on the Gold Rush of 1849, and some Civil War letters.

Accessions of manuscripts by the North Carolina Department of Archives and History include the papers of Reginald A. Fessenden relating to his experiments in wireless telegraphy, the incandescent lamp, and other scientific devices; a letter from George Mordecai of Raleigh to his brother, describing the disastrous Raleigh fire of 1838; the minute book of the corporation of Elizabeth City, 1853-1867, valuable in part because it covers the period of occupation of the town by United States troops during the Civil War; and the minutes of the court of pleas and quarter session of Wake County, 1777-1784.

The Illinois Central Railroad Company recently deposited in the Newberry Library, Chicago, several tons of records covering the period from 1851, the year of its charter, to 1906. Among these records are practically complete files of the correspondence of the presidents of the road, as well as files containing reports on construction and materials on operation, land development, accounting, and corporate affairs. In view of the extension of the road to New Orleans in 1882, the collection undoubtedly contains material of value to the student of southern transportation, but its principal contribution will be found in the light which it throws on the economic development of Illinois and the upper Mississippi Valley. In making this deposit the Company specifies that the material is to be made available to "those scholars whose qualifications are satisfactory from the point of view of training, whose project is a part of a serious plan of objective research, and who are recommended by responsible persons." The Newberry Library will prepare a catalogue or guide of the records in order that they may be available for reference at a reasonably early date. Most of the material is bound in volume form and will therefore be fairly easy for scholars to use.

The Library of the University of Kentucky has recently acquired through the United Daughters of the Confederacy an important collection of the papers of Ben Hardin Helm, Confederate general and brother-in-law of Abraham Lincoln.

Recent acquisitions of the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection of the University of Missouri include: the Hickman Papers, covering the activities of

a pioneer family of Louisiana and Missouri for the period from 1823 to 1870 and dealing with such subjects as slavery, cotton business, stock raising, politics, and education; the Bryan Papers, dealing with the law business of John H. Bryan in 1828-1830 and of W. W. Bryan for the period from 1854 to 1878; a collection of letters, account books, notes, and receipts relating to the business of J. H. and D. M. Tucker as merchants in central Missouri, 1833-1901; the private letters of F. B. Mumford, dean of Missouri College of Agriculture, 1909-1938; additions to the papers of former Governor Arthur M. Hyde on official business of Missouri, 1921-1925; and the Missouri Constitutional Convention Papers (1943-1944), consisting of correspondence, committee minutes, and other material deposited by chairmen of the various committees and individual members of the convention.

Important among the recent acquisitions of the Maryland Historical Society is a collection of manuscripts, silver, Lowestoft china, portraits, and furniture, received from the estate of Washington Perine, member of a family descended from John Augustine Washington. The manuscripts include correspondence of the Washington family during the later years of the eighteenth century; letters to members of the Perine family from Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (148 items), Reverdy Johnson (98 items), John V. L. McMahon (43 items), and others; files and account books relating to the estates of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Taney, McMahon, Moses Sheppard, and others; a large quantity of manuscripts, account books, and pamphlets relating to the Bank of Maryland case, including a manuscript draft of Reverdy Johnson's speech on the subject before the Supreme Court; papers and accounts of the Mexican claims case, resulting from the shipment of arms and other supplies by a Baltimore group to General Mina for his operations in Mexico in 1817; and 150 negatives and many photographs of historical interest.

The Society has also obtained a group of letters written by General Samuel Smith during the period 1807-1811 and letters written to Smith by Edward Lloyd in 1826; additional correspondence of the Ridgely family, including many letters written from Baltimore during the Civil War; and the record and account books of the New Windsor Library Company, 1840-1849.

Among recent acquisitions of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are considerable additions to the following collections: Graves, Basil Manly, Boykin, Swain, William A. Graham, Moses Ashley Curtis, William Calder, Malloy, Phillips-Myers, Mangum, Mordecai, Walton, Dashiell, Harry St. John Dixon, Elmore, Pember, Broun, Harding-Jackson, Peter W. Hairston, and Lindsay Patterson. The Beale-Davis papers have been more than doubled in size by the addition of many volumes of diaries, running from 1855 to 1920. Additional volumes of the Wilhelmina Lea and Laura B. Comer diaries have also been received.

New collections include the diary and other papers of Dr. Peter B. Bacot

(1836-1924), of South Carolina; the journals and commonplace book, 1843-1851, and 1873, of Henry Middleton Parker and Henry Middleton Parker, Jr.; the diary, 1822-1839, of the Rev. William V. Dunn, of Maine and North Carolina; the Civil War scrapbook of Miss Elise Rutledge of South Carolina; the muster-roll and payroll of Company B., 36th Regiment, North Carolina Troops, C.S.A.; the Bond-Fentriss papers, North Carolina and Missouri; papers and manuscript books of the Johnston and Weaver families of Buncombe County, North Carolina; the diary, 3 volumes, of Colonel Clinton A. Cilley (1837-1900), U.S.A., of Vermont and North Carolina; the diary, 13 volumes, of Colonel James C. Harper (1819-1890), of North Carolina; the Lowndes papers, chiefly those of Rawlins Lowndes (1721-1800), and William Lowndes (1782-1822), of South Carolina; the diary, 2 volumes, 1833, of Mrs. James M. Smith, of Georgia; the papers of Julia M. Foster (Mrs. Edwin Gardner Weed), of Florida; a large collection of papers, chiefly genealogical, of the DeSaussure family of South Carolina; the papers of William F. Stevenson (1861-1942), of North Carolina and South Carolina; a large collection of papers of George J. Baldwin, of Georgia; the papers of Edward Conigland (1819-1877), of North Carolina; the diary, 1861, of Captain James Heyward North, C.S.N., of South Carolina; the Bray Baker papers, North Carolina and Virginia; the papers of Admiral Edward Middleton (1810-1883), U.S.N., of South Carolina; the papers of General Thomas M. Logan (1808-1876), C.S.A., of South Carolina and Virginia; the papers of John Janney (1798-1872), president of the secession convention of Virginia; the diary, 1832, 1841, and sermons of Abram D. Pollock (1807-1890), of Virginia; the Civil War letters of Edmund Jones Williams (1841-1926), of North Carolina; the diary, 1862-1863, of Henry A. London (1848-1918), of North Carolina; the plantation diary, 1857-1858, and account books, 1872-1922, of John Edwin Fripp, of South Carolina; the Gregorie-Elliott papers, South Carolina; the joint autobiography of Joseph Gales (1761-1841) and Winifred M. Gales (1761-1839), his wife, of England, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; a collection of papers, chiefly concerning business, of Wade Hampton (1751-1835), Wade Hampton (1791-1858), and Wade Hampton (1818-1902), of South Carolina; an autobiography and an extensive collection of papers of Berry Benson (1843-1923), C.S.A., of South Carolina; the diary, 1841-1865, of William Hooper Haigh (1823-1870), of North Carolina; the studies of Achorn and Skinner in ornithology; the diary, 4 volumes, 1800-1859, of the Rev. John Rogers, of Kentucky; a joint collection of the papers of R. C. Puryear, member of the Confederate Congress, and General Thomas L. Clingman (1812-1899), C.S.A., United States representative and senator, both of North Carolina; a large collection of letters of Major General William P. Upshur (1881-1943), U.S.M.C., of Virginia; the diary, 1857-1861, of James K. Stringfield, and the diary, 1845-1851, of Thomas Stringfield, both of Tennessee and North Carolina; the amnesty oath record book, 1865, for Orange County, North Carolina; a Fred-

ericksburg, Virginia, account book, 1820-1857; the papers of Admiral Victor Blue (1865-1928), U.S.N., of North Carolina and South Carolina; a large collection of the correspondence and other papers of Dr. William de Berniere MacNider (1881-), of North Carolina; the diary, 1840-1880, of Cushing B. Hassell (1808-1880), of North Carolina; the papers of Duncan G. MacRae (1808-1889), of North Carolina; the diary, 1864, of J. Kelly Bennette, of Virginia; the diary, 1846, of Nathaniel Bowe, of Virginia; the papers of Hayne Davis (1868-1942), of North Carolina and New York; "Memoirs of a Ne'er-Do-Weal"; papers of the Nicholson family of Edgefield, South Carolina; the papers of William Pelham, of North Carolina and Alabama; the Trist Wood collection, which includes the Mexican War diary of Robert Crooke Wood, U.S.A., letters of Hore Browse Trist, a scrapbook of Nellie Custis, and Bringier slave records; the papers of the Rev. Joseph Rennie (1860-1943), of Virginia; two letter books, 1842-1850, of William Bagley of North Carolina; the Groner collection, consisting chiefly of papers of John A. Campbell (1811-1889), of Alabama, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; the Ellett papers, 1816-1906, Virginia; the McElwee papers and manuscript books, 1843-1883, North Carolina; Belle Atkinson papers, Texas; the Hermione Ross Walker collection of family letters and diaries, Georgia; papers of H. E. C. Bryant (1873-), North Carolina and Washington, D. C.; the Harriette Kershaw Leiding collection of Kershaw and DeSaussure papers, South Carolina; a diary, 1845, of one Bahnson (first name unknown), of Pennsylvania and North Carolina; the Nancy Brown Young collection, consisting of the Civil War papers, 1862-1866, of J. L. Brown, C.S.A.; the Mrs. Francis B. Stewart collection of personal and family papers of the Pinckney, Middleton, Rutledge, and Horry families of South Carolina, and including the letter book, 1842-1843, and the recipe book of Harriott Horry; a collection of papers of John Rutledge (1739-1800), of South Carolina; a small collection of the papers of General John H. Winder (1800-1865), C.S.A., of Maryland; several manuscript volumes of Dr. James R. Sparkman, of South Carolina, including the minutes of the Planters' Club of the Pedee, and two volumes of his medical records; and a collection of letters and plantation records (1837-1864) of the Sparkman family of Springwood, Birdfield, and Dirleton plantations, South Carolina.

Photostatic, microfilm, and typed copies of the following were made: the personal memoirs of General Samuel W. Ferguson (1834-?), C.S.A., of South Carolina and Mississippi; the papers and plantation records of James B. Heyward and Nathaniel Heyward of Rotterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Myrtle Grove plantations, South Carolina; papers of John Hartwell Cocke (1780-1866) and Charles Cary Cocke, of "Bremo," Virginia; "Reminiscences" of Grace Pearson James Beard, of South Carolina; "Reminiscences" of William Frederick Penniman, of Georgia; "The Wilmington Riot," by T. W. Clawson; plantation records, 3 volumes, 1799-1825, 1801-1831, 1825-1851, of

Peter Gaillard of "The Rocks," South Carolina; the plantation records, 1750-1756, of John Palmer of "Gravel Hill," South Carolina; the plantation records, 1778-1784, of John Palmer, Jr., of "Richmond," South Carolina; the Stoney collection including the diary, 5 volumes, 1799-1829, of Thomas Porcher of "Ophir," South Carolina; the diary, 1832-1860, of Peter Gaillard Stoney, and the diary, 1855-1860, of Isaac DuBose Porcher, all of South Carolina; eleven family letters, 1784-1824, of Thomas Jefferson; the diary, 1863-1872, of Dr. James E. Green, of North Carolina; "Reminiscences" of Thomas M. Aldrich, U.S.A.; the autobiography, 1837, of Rev. Thomas Bog Slade, of North Carolina and Georgia; the diary, 1864, of John Walton, of North Carolina; Colonel T. G. Walton's "Sketches of Pioneers of Burke County, N. C."; the diary, 1849-1851, of John Gundry, of England and California; the Gayle-Crawford papers, containing among other things three volumes of the diaries of William B. Crawford and Sarah Gayle Crawford, of South Carolina and Alabama, and a scrapbook kept by her from 1832 to 1884; and Colonel William Allan's "Conversations with General Lee."

The Archivist of the United States has proposed that a building be constructed in the suburbs of Washington for the central housing of such records of the Federal Government as are no longer needed in the office where they accumulated but will have to be preserved, at least for a considerable period, for legal, administrative, or research uses. It is estimated that, in addition to the records now in the National Archives, there will be at least two million cubic feet of such records in existence at the end of the war, including the service records of all the men and women who will have served in the armed forces, and that less than one-tenth of them could be housed in unoccupied space in the National Archives Building. The proposed public records building would be a part of the National Archives establishment, but much of the space in it would be allocated to other agencies of the Government for use by them in storing and servicing records that should remain in their custody for the time being.

Some interesting records have recently been added to the substantial body of scientific material in the National Archives. The Weather Bureau has transferred the records of Cleveland Abbe, professor of meteorology in the Weather Bureau from 1871 to 1916. They include Dr. Abbe's correspondence with leading geographers, astronomers, and meteorologists, 1863-1916; plans drawn for submission to the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce for a weather service in that region, 1868; copies of weather maps he made in 1870—the first weather maps made in the United States; and his weather forecasts, 1871-1872. A small but significant body of records of Arnold Hague, for the period 1884-1916, have been transferred by the Geological Survey. They relate principally to the Survey's explorations of the Yellowstone Park area, which were carried out under Dr. Hague's direction.

As a result of records administration programs in the War and Navy Departments for the transfer to the National Archives of all non-current records of enduring value, the National Archives has received in the last few months more than 10,000 cubic feet of records relating to military affairs. Included among the Navy Department records transferred are the general correspondence files of the Bureau of Aeronautics, 1930-1942, and records of the Hydrographic Office, 1854-1925. Records received from the War Department include non-current files, ranging in date from 1813 to 1942, from almost fifty army posts and organizations throughout the country.

A new illustrated *Circular*, No. 6, published by the National Archives consists of a brief statement of the history and activities of the institution and a descriptive catalogue of the material displayed in its Exhibition Hall. Copies may be obtained from the Assistant Administrative Secretary.

Presidential papers received recently at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park consist chiefly of sections of the White House files relating to the Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, and the President's Hawaiian Islands-Alaska trip of July-August, 1944. Additions to the Library's naval manuscript collection include a signed drawing by Robert Fulton of a torpedo designed by him in May, 1813. The President has also given the Library a photostatic copy of a journal of the houseboat cruises taken by him in Florida waters in 1924, 1925, and 1926 with members of his family and others.

In the *Twentieth Biennial Report of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, 1942-1944* (Bulletin No. 44, Raleigh, 1944, pp. 59), Christopher Crittenden presents a comprehensive survey of the activities of the Department and its staff during the two-year period ending June 30, 1944. It combines an impressive record of the accession and preservation of historical materials and the stimulation of an interest in the history of the state with an intelligent program for the improvement of its services in the future.

The Development of Library Resources and Graduate Work in the Cooperative University Centers of the South (Nashville, Joint University Libraries, 1944, pp. viii, 81), edited by Philip G. Davidson and A. F. Kuhlman, is a report of the proceedings of a conference of graduate deans and librarians held at the Joint University Libraries in Nashville on July 12-14, 1944, "to explore and define the opportunities for the development of library resources for research and the improvement of advanced graduate instruction and research" in the five co-operative university centers which have been established in the South. Of special interest to historians is the section on "Essential Organization of Library Agencies to Serve the University Center" (pp. 17-28), in which the relation of state libraries and archives and of state and local historical society collections to research interests is considered.

C. S. Rafinesque, A Life of Travels (New York, G. E. Stechert and Company,

1944, pp. 80, \$2.50), with a Foreword by Elmer D. Merrill, is "a Verbatim and Literatim Reprint of the Original and only Edition (Philadelphia, 1836)," of the autobiography of Constantine S. Rafinesque, pioneer botanist and for many years professor at Transylvania University, in Kentucky. Not only does Professor Merrill's foreword help the reader to place Rafinesque as a scientist, but a critical, annotated index, by F. W. Pennell, affords a useful aid for studying American intellectual life of the early nineteenth century.

Album of American History: Colonial Period (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944, pp. xiii, 411, \$7.50), with James Truslow Adams as editor in chief, R. V. Coleman as managing editor, and Atkinson Dymock as art director, is the first of a proposed series of volumes "designed to show what our history looked like." Although its publishers call it a companion to the *Dictionary of American History* and the *Atlas of American History*, it falls so far below them in quality and dependability that the bonds of companionship must surely be stretched to their utmost limits. So many of the illustrations lack either applicability or contemporaneity (frequently both) that the serious student gains an impression of carelessness and shallowness in the work as a whole. Its extensive use by uncritical teachers and immature pupils is likely to establish a concept of "what our history looked like" which a generation of corrective effort will find it difficult to overcome.

A University Is a Place . . . a Spirit: Addresses and Articles by Frank LeRond McVey (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1944, pp. xix, 458, \$3.50), collected and arranged by Frances Jewell McVey, brings together some eighty-five addresses and articles by Dr. McVey during his tenure as president of the University of Kentucky, 1917-1940. Most of them deal with problems of higher education in Kentucky and the southern region, but many of them contain material of historical value and significance, which might have been brought out more effectively through a chronological rather than topical arrangement. The collection will unquestionably become one of the indispensable sources for a study of an important quarter century in the history of the University of Kentucky, and it cannot be ignored by anyone interested in educational advancement in the South as a whole.

American Historical Societies, 1790-1860 (Madison, The Author, 1944, pp. ix, 238, \$3.50), by Leslie W. Dunlap, assistant librarian at the University of Wisconsin, traces the history of historical societies in the United States from the foundation of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791 to the eve of the Civil War. Defining the term "American historical society" as applying "to associations of individuals organized to collect, preserve, and make available the materials for the history of the United States or a section of it," Mr. Dunlap shows that before 1860 a historical society was organized in every state east of Texas except Delaware. Many of them were short-lived, but about half are still

active. The first part of the study considers the character of the societies before 1861, and their contribution to our knowledge of American history. In Part Two, a brief historical sketch is given of some sixty-five organizations, among which every southern state except Texas is represented with at least one society. The book is an important contribution in a field which has received too little attention from students and scholars.

Local History: How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It (New York, The Social Science Research Council, 1944, pp. xiv, 186, \$1.00), by Donald Dean Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson, represents an attempt to give to the individual of intelligence with more than the average educational advantage the necessary information for gathering, writing, and publishing the history of his own community. Since it is not intended for those who have received graduate training in the study and writing of history, it includes much detailed information which will be elementary to the trained and experienced writer of history. The book is devoted in the main to practical advice on such questions as the following: Where does one go for information? What subjects should be covered? What is the best way to take notes and to organize information? How is an index made? What are the procedures and problems involved in getting the study published? The general effects of this detailed treatment should be to discourage many dabblers in local history who have no serious purpose in mind, to provide a much-needed guide for the serious-minded but untrained worker, and to raise the qualitative level of the products of local historical activity. The eight-page bibliography is suggestive rather than comprehensive, but it includes most of the important general literature on the subject.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"William Pinkney's First Public Service," by Max P. Allen, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December).

"Politics in Maryland during the Civil War," continued, by Charles B. Clark, *ibid.*

"Early Maryland Bookplates," by Edith R. Bevan, *ibid.*

"Thomas Jefferson and William Byrd's Manuscript Histories of the Dividing Line," by Maude H. Woodfin, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (October).

"Captain John Smith and the Indians," by Keith Glenn, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October).

"Brigadier General William Russell of Virginia," by Elizabeth Y. Russell, *ibid.*

"W. W. Holden and the Election of 1858," by Edgar Estes Folk, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October).

"The North Carolina Department of Revenue," by Allen Jay Maxwell and William Oran Suiter, *ibid.*

- "The Negro Population of Guilford County, North Carolina, before the Civil War," by William Edward Farrison, *ibid.*
- "The Enslavement of Free Negroes in North Carolina," by John Hope Franklin, in the *Journal of Negro History* (October).
- "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," by John Hope Franklin, in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (September).
- "The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White," by L. Paul Gresham, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (December).
- "Reforms in the Care of the Insane in Tennessee, 1830-1850," by E. Bruce Thompson, *ibid.*
- "Tennessee Public School Lands," by Virginia Williams, *ibid.*
- "Cherokee Occupance in the Oklahoma Ozarks and Prairie Plains," by Leslie Hewes, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Autumn).
- "The Beginnings of the Oklahoma State Hospital Association," by Fred S. Clinton, *ibid.*
- "Rural School Houses in Early Oklahoma," by F. A. Balyeat, *ibid.*
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DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "Civilian Defense in Baltimore, 1814-1815," continued, edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December).
- "Governor Charles Goldsborough's Views on Slavery," contributed by Charlotte Fletcher, *ibid.*
- "A Virginian at Harvard, 1819-1823: Edward T. Tayloe's College Expenses," edited by Robert W. Hill, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October).
- "Notes on the Honorable Edmund Jenings (1659-1727)," by Maurer Maurer, *ibid.*
- "Augustine Washington's Official Appointments," by S. H. Lee Washington, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "Thomas Woodward, Esquire, A Virginia Cavalier," by Hugh Buckner Johnston, *ibid.*
- "Copies of Extant Wills from Counties Whose Records Have Been Destroyed," continued, edited by George Harrison Sanford King, *ibid.*
- "Report of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Friedrich Christian von Schweinitz of Their Journey to the Cherokee Nation and in the Cumberland Settlements in the State of Tennessee, from 28th October to 28th December, 1799," edited by Adelaide L. Fries, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October).

- "Some Tennessee Letters during the Polk Administration," continued, edited by Joseph H. Parks, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (December).
- "A Bibliography of the Lower Blue Licks (with Annotations), 1744-1944," by Willard Rouse Jillson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (October).
- "Butler County, Kentucky," continued, compiled by Mrs. W. P. Drake, *ibid.*
- "Heirs in Court of Appeals Deeds," continued, compiled by Hattie M. Scott, *ibid.*
- "State Archives, Kentucky Vital Statistics, 1852-1859; Adair County Death Records," copied by Lockett Smith, *ibid.*
- "Stanley Explores Oklahoma," annotated by Lona Shawver, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Autumn).

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," by Albert H. Stoddard, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September).
- "The Influence of Claflin College on Negro Family Life," by E. Horace Fitchett, in the *Journal of Negro History* (October).
- "The Origin of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Georgia," by A. Elizabeth Taylor, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "Georgia's Early Graduates of West Point," by George T. Ness, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Lowell Mason's Varied Activities in Savannah," by Margaret Freeman LaFar, *ibid.* (September).
- "Old City and Suburban Car Lines," by Florence Olmstead, *ibid.*
- "Yellow Fever from the Viewpoint of Savannah," by Robert L. Usinger, *ibid.*
- "Henry Holcombe, D.D. (1762-1824)," by Mabel Freeman LaFar, *ibid.*
- "Clay's Letters to Berrien," by Lowry Axley, *ibid.*
- "The Vanishing Gardens of Savannah," by Laura Palmer Bell, *ibid.*
- "The Beginnings of Printing in Florida," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "Material in the National Archives Relating to Florida, 1789-1870," by Elizabeth B. Drewry, *ibid.*
- "Pioneer Florida: Sidelights on Early American St. Augustine," by T. Frederick Davis, *ibid.*
- "The Conservation of Historic Sites in Florida," by C. R. Vinten, *ibid.*
- "Houston County in the Great Bend of the Tennessee," by Oliver D. Street, in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring).
- "History of Rock Springs Baptist Church, Chambers County, Alabama," by Anne Elizabeth Newman, *ibid.*
- "The Basis of White Political Control in Mississippi," by Alfred Holt Stone, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (October).

- "Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi," by Frances Allen Cabaniss and James Allen Cabaniss, *ibid.*
- "Factionalism: A Fruit of Spanish-American Rivalry on the Mississippi Frontier," by R. A. McLemore, *ibid.*
- "The Development of New Orleans as a Wholesale Trading Center," by Harry A. Mitchell, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "The History of the Louisiana State Lottery Company," by Berthold C. Alwes, *ibid.*
- "The History of Crowley, Louisiana," by Velma Lea Hair, *ibid.*
- "The Founding of New Subiaco Abbey," by the Rev. Michael Lensing, in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (Autumn).
- "Another Discordant Harmony," by E. L. Rudolph, *ibid.*
- "Captain Charles Schreiner, the Father of the Hill Country," by Gene Hollon, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," by Arthur S. Link, *ibid.*
- "Elliott Roosevelt's Visit to Texas in 1876-1877," by M. L. Crimmins, *ibid.*
- "Life of General Don Manuel de Mier y Teran as It Affected Texas-Mexican Relations," continued, by Ohland Morton, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "South Carolina Contributors to the College of Philadelphia," in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "The Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher," continued, edited by Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *ibid.*
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, South Carolina," continued, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Minutes of the Vestry of St. Stephen's Parish, South Carolina, 1754-1873," continued, edited by Anne Allston Porcher, *ibid.*
- "Journal of General Peter Horry," continued, *ibid.*
- "Additional Correspondence of David Brydie Mitchell," edited by Chester McA. Destler, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "The Savannah Historical Research Association: Its Aims and Accomplishments," by Walter C. Hartridge, *ibid.* (September).
- "Joining the Savannah Baptist Church in the Early Nineteenth Century," contributed by Mabel Freeman LaFar, *ibid.*
- "The Intrigue of a British Refugee against the Willing Raid, 1778," edited by Kathryn Trimmer Abbey, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (October).
- "Jeremiah Austill: The Autobiography of One of Alabama's Most Distinguished Pioneer Citizens," in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring).
- "Life [Autobiography] of Margaret Ervin Austill," *ibid.*
- "Bishop Otey's Report of a Visitation of the Diocese of Mississippi in 1835," edited by Nash K. Burger, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (October).

- "A Rare Confederate Louisiana State Document and Its History," by James A. McMillen, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "Opening Routes to El Paso, 1849," contributed by C. L. Greenwood, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "A Trip to Texas," by Susan Frances Lomax, edited by John A. Lomax, *ibid.*
- "Lawrie's Trip to Northeast Texas, 1854-1855," edited by V. E. Gibbens, *ibid.*
- "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1876," continued, edited by E. W. Winkler, *ibid.*
- "Charles A. Kingland: Texas Immortal," contributed by Frank E. Vandiver, *ibid.*

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS, AND COMPILATIONS

- "Locating the Printed Source Materials for United States History," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December).
- "The Conservative Attitude toward the Great Awakening," by Leonard W. Labaree, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (October).
- "Unpublished Mazzei Letters to Jefferson," edited by Howard R. Marraro, *ibid.*
- "Spanish Defeat of the Napoleonic Confederation in America," by John Rydjord, in the *University of Wichita Bulletin* (December).
- "The Food Supply of the Confederate Armies, 1865," by Frank E. Vandiver, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "Campaigning with the First Minnesota: A Civil War Diary," continued, edited by Hazel C. Wolf, in *Minnesota History* (December).
- "Civil War Letters of a German Immigrant," edited by Dieter Cunz, in the *American-German Review* (October).
- "Henry Watterson and the Liberal Convention of 1872," by Lena C. Logan, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (December).

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